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Study of Chairman Mao's Two Poems

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Two Poems by Chairman Mao

(NCNA-English Peking, Dec. 31, 1975)

Two poems by Chairman Mao are reprinted in the Jen-min Jih-pao and other Peking newspapers in the New Year's Day issue. Entitled "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou" and "Two Birds: a dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," the poems are published in the January 1976 issue of the journal Poetry. They read in full as follows:

Chingkangshan Revisited

- to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou

May 1965

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:

We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

Two Birds: A Dialogue

- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao

Autumn 1965

The roc wings fanwise,
Soaring ninety thousand li
And rousing a raging cyclone.
The blue sky on his back, he looks down
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.
Gunfire licks the heavens,
Shells pit the earth.
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
"This is one hell of a mess!
O I want to flit and fly away."

"Where, may I ask?"
The sparrow replies,
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.
Don't you know a triple pact was signed
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?
There'll be plenty to eat,
Potatoes piping hot

With beef thrown in." (see note)

"Stop your windy nonsense!

Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

(Note: This refers to "goulash"--NCNA editor.)

词二首

水调歌头

重上井冈山

一九六五年五月

久有凌云志，
重上井冈山，
千里来寻故地，
旧貌变新颜。
到处莺歌燕舞，
更有潺潺流水，
高路入云端。
过了黄洋界，
险处不须看。

风雷动，
旌旗奋，
是人寰，
三十八年过去，
弹指一挥间，
可上九天揽月，
可下五洋捉鳖，
谈笑凯歌还。
世上无难事，
只要肯登攀。

念奴娇

鸟儿问答

一九六五年秋

鲲鹏展翅，
九万里，
翻动扶摇羊角。
背负青天朝下看，
都是人间城郭。
炮火连天，
弹痕遍地，
吓倒蓬间雀。
怎么得了，
哎呀我要飞跃。

借问君去何方？
雀儿答道：
有仙山琼阁。
不见前年秋月朗，
订了三家条约。
还有吃的，
土豆烧熟了，
再加牛肉。
不须放屁，
试看天地翻覆。

（摘录《诗刊》一九七六年一月号）

Nothing Is Hard in This World If You Dare To Scale the Heights

- New Year's Day, 1976, Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(NCNA-English Peking, Dec. 31, 1975)

Following is the full text of the New Year's Day, 1976, Editorial by the Jen-min Jih-pao, the Hung-ch'i Journal and the Chieh-fang-chün Pao, entitled "Nothing Is Hard in This World If You Dare To Scale the Heights":

Nineteen seventy-six has arrived. Today witnesses the publication of two poems written by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1965: "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou" and "Two Birds: A dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao". Through artistic images which splendidly combine revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, these two brilliant works describe the excellent situation at home and abroad in which "the world is being turned upside down" and "past scenes are transformed"; they hail the heroism of the revolutionary people who "can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas"; they set forth the historical law that Marxism-Leninism is sure to prevail while revisionism is bound to fail. The publication of these two poems of Chairman Mao's is an event of great political and immediate significance and a great inspiration to the people throughout the country. As we stride into the new year reading Chairman Mao's poems and surveying our vast country and the revolutionary storms around the world, we are full of emotion and pride and are all the more confident of winning new victories.

Look! "Orioles sing, swallows swirl.... everywhere". Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel Water Margin, our Party is full of vigor, our people are in high spirits, our country is flourishing, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is stronger than ever. New socialist things are blooming in profusion throughout our country. The masses of the people of all nationalities are perseveringly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; they are deepening their understanding of classes, class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in socialist society and their awareness of the need to restrict bourgeois right and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young has invigorated leading bodies at all levels, and millions of successors to the cause of proletarian revolution are tempering themselves in accordance with the five requirements set by Chairman Mao. The revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works has resulted in an efflorescence of creative work in socialist literature and art. The revolution in education is advancing in struggle in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, and gratifying results have been achieved in the efforts to transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. The revolution in health work is overcoming the rural shortage of doctors and medicines, barefoot doctors are steadily maturing, and the cooperative medical system has become more consolidated. By entering May 7 cadre schools, going down to do manual labor and studying afresh, large numbers of cadres have increased their awareness

of the need to continue the revolution and regained their revolutionary youthfulness. More than ten million school graduates have gone to the vast countryside where they are persevering in the revolution and growing sturdily. The entry of the working class into institutions of higher education, middle and primary schools and other organizations in the superstructure has put an end to the domination of these organizations by bourgeois intellectuals. The formation and growth of theoretical contingents of workers, peasants and soldiers are pushing the socialist revolution forward on the ideological and cultural fronts. The mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is actively progressing. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused and a million cadres have gone to the agricultural front line. The revolutionary drive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country is surging ahead. China has had good harvests for 14 years running. The mass movement to learn from Taching in industry is developing in depth, giving fuller play to the revolutionary spirit of independence and self-reliance and increasing industrial production beyond previous levels. Professional scientific and technical personnel are integrating themselves with workers and peasants and doing scientific research in an open-door way, a man-made earth satellite has been recovered, and science has made further progress. The target for gross industrial and agricultural output set in the Fourth Five-Year Plan has been successfully met. In our country prices are stable, the market is brisk, and people's living standards have been rising steadily.

All this is a forceful refutation of the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past." All this represents a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the country should in the new year adhere to the Party's basic line, conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take class struggle as the key link, continue to implement Chairman Mao's important instructions, advance the socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure, promote stability and unity, accelerate the development of socialist agriculture and industry and the entire economy, and strive to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Never forget classes and class struggle."

Recently Chairman Mao has again taught us: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

Taking class struggle as the key link--this has been Chairman Mao's fundamental theory and practice in leading our Party in carrying out the socialist revolution over the past 20 years and more. As Chairman Mao pointed out once again in 1965 when criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, "class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen

years or so." Many years of historical experience show that negating or revising the principle of taking class struggle as the key link is bound to lead to mistakes in theory and practice. The struggle between the two lines--to practice Marxism or to practice revisionism--is the reflection within the Party of the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. The recent farrago on the educational front, representing a right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts, is a conspicuous manifestation of the revisionist line that stands against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This shows once again that class struggle is long and tortuous and at times very acute in socialist society. We should remain sober-minded, persevere in our proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and never for a moment forget the key link, class struggle. Only when the key link is grasped will everything fall into place. In criticizing the eclectic view that puts politics on a par with economics, Lenin said: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the ABC of Marxism." What is politics? Lenin said: "Politics means a struggle between classes." If one forgets the key link, class struggle, one will be a blind, half-baked and muddle-headed revolutionary and depart from the socialist orientation.

How to assess the great proletarian cultural revolution--this is a concentrated reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Both the Ninth and Tenth Congresses of the Party definitively appraised the great proletarian cultural revolution. To approve or negate this great revolution is in essence a struggle between continuing revolution on the one hand and restoration and retrogression on the other. This struggle will go on for a long time. Our cadres must continue to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry on criticism of the novel Water Margin, re-study Chairman Mao's instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution, gain a deep understanding of the fact that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a deep understanding of these two classes and the class struggle between them and of the character, target, task and prospects of the socialist revolution, and consciously grasp the Party's basic line and policies for the historical period of socialism. Only thus can one have a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and oneself. It is essential to go on criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and of Lin Piao, capitalist tendencies and the ideology of bourgeois right and to defend and develop the fruits of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

A correct attitude toward this revolution calls for a correct attitude toward the new things that have emerged under socialism. New socialist things are the fresh fruits of the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. They are the great and vital inventions of hundreds of millions of people. They restrict bourgeois right in all spheres and reflect the trend of historical development--socialism and communism will inevitably replace capitalism. Chairman Mao has said: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow"; "the masses are the real heroes." Every member of the Communist Party and every revolutionary must fervently support new revolutionary things. It should be noted that new things have to go through a process of development and that they are liable to have certain shortcomings. One should adopt a positive attitude toward them and take measures to perfect them on the basis of fully affirming their

achievements. In no way should one behave like a bourgeois lord, peremptorily denounce them and pour cold water on them. Still less should one follow the handful of hostile people who have ulterior motives in their attempts to strangle new things. We should take class struggle as the key link and continue to do a good job in carrying out the revolution in education, in literature and art and in health work, and in conducting struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." 1976 is the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of our national economy; efforts should be made to fulfill and overfulfill the state plan. It is essential to persist in building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift continue to carry out the principle of "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war," go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and push the national economy forward. We must continue to deepen the mass movement in agriculture, learn from Tachai and, with the whole Party taking part in a tremendous effort to develop agriculture, strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. We must adhere to the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, continue to deepen the mass movement in industry, learn from Tach'ing and take our own path of industrial development. Whether in industry, agriculture or any other field of work, it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link, rely on the masses, conduct investigations and studies, sum up experience and do a good job in grasping typical cases.

Leadership by the Party is the basic guarantee for the victory of our cause. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership, pay close attention to study, educate and train cadres, and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and principles and policies. The great debate on the educational front should be conducted under the leadership of Party committees at various levels; no "fighting groups" should be organized. A strict distinction should be made between the two types of contradictions which differ in nature and they should be handled correctly. Major issues of right and wrong in the two-line struggle should be settled through debate so as to achieve clarity in ideology and draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. With regard to comrades who have made mistakes, we should follow the policy learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient, basing ourselves on the formula "unity--criticism and self-criticism--unity." We should continue to pay attention to the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we should unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, unite with all the forces that can be united with, mobilize all positive factors and do our work in every field still better.

The current international situation is excellent, there is great disorder under heaven. All the basic contradictions in the world are daily sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing. Phoney "goulash" communism has gone bankrupt. The Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in various countries are growing stronger in the struggle against modern revisionism. The countries and people of the Third World have been playing their role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism,

colonialism and great-power hegemonism. The contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is intensifying; strategically Europe is the focus of their contention. Soviet social-imperialism, which is "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west" and most energetically playing the fraudulent game of "detente," is precisely the most dangerous source of war today. We must heighten our vigilance and be prepared against war. We must continue to carry out the strategic principles advanced by Chairman Mao: "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony"; "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." The People's Liberation Army and the masses of militiamen should carry forward their glorious revolutionary traditions, strengthen preparedness against war, train hard, be strict with themselves and always be ready to wipe out any invading enemy. We are determined to liberate Taiwan province, our sacred territory.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Chairman Mao's brilliant verses show the bright and magnificent prospects before us and the tortuous struggle we have to go through on our way forward. They will guide us in breaking through brambles and thorns and in advancing courageously along the great road of continuing revolution. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, we are sure to overcome all difficulties and hazards and win still greater victories in the new year.

* * *

Past Scenes Are Transformed

- a study of Chairman Mao's two poems: "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"

by

Chiang T'ien (江天)

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, January 1, 1976)

A life-and-death struggle between revolution and counter-revolution was going on in 1927 in China. Due to the mutiny of Chiang Kai-shek and the capitulation of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the First Revolutionary Civil War led by the Chinese Communist Party failed. The land of China was overshadowed by White Terror. It was in this dark night that Chairman Mao personally led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, brought the troops to Chingkangshan and ignited the spark of revolution.

Chingkangshan was the cradle of revolution. Here, the first workers and peasants' revolutionary armed force led by the Chinese Communist Party--the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army--was steeled to maturity, and many outstanding children of the Chinese nation were trained and brought up. The revolutionary people cherished and were drawn to Chingkangshan, but the reactionaries hated and laid siege to it. However, Chingkangshan still stood majestically, and the heroic children of Chingkangshan were still recalcitrant. In 1949, the victory of the Chinese revolution brought sunny weather to the foggy Chingkangshan and spring to the land. When Chairman Mao "came from afar to climb our old haunt" and revisited Chingkangshan in 1965, the place already had its "past scenes transformed." "Orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere, and the road mounts skyward." What a revolutionary scene full of life and vigor.

"Past scenes are transformed." This is Chairman Mao's metaphorical summary of the revolutionary changes at Chingkangshan in 38 years, and is also an accurate summary of the triumphant advance of the socialist revolution and construction everywhere in China.

"Past scenes are transformed." This is the irresistible trend of development of things. Even though the old things appear to be very strong for a time, it is inevitable that they will be replaced by new things in the end. In 1927, backed by international imperialism and the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie at home. Chiang Kai-shek mounted the throne to exercise reactionary rule, and proclaimed his intention to exterminate all of the Chinese communists. How blatant his reactionary arrogance was! However, the Chinese Communist Party raised afresh the "banner" of revolution at this first revolutionary base area Chingkangshan to whip up the revolutionary "thunderstorm." "A single spark can start a prairie fire." The whole land of China was finally swept by the "thunderstorm," and "banners" were planted everywhere. The "old look" of the rule by reactionaries was finally transformed into the "new look" with the people as the masters."

All over the world, "earth-shaking" changes also occurred. Half a century or more ago, the world was still under the domination of capitalism. The victory of the October Revolution led by Lenin made a breach in the capitalist world. The victory of the Chinese revolution greatly encouraged the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people in all countries. Today, "the Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; the Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring." Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become the irresistible trend of historical development in the world.

All these irrefutable facts vividly and effectively show that "the transformation of past scenes into new ones" is the law of necessity governing the development of things. Ths is so in the natural world and is also in human society; it is so in China and is also so in the world. However, all reactionaries are diehards. They vainly attempt to turn back the wheel of history, but history mercilessly pokes fun at them and makes all their performances leave a bad name for thousands of years to come. This has been so with Chiang Kai-shek as well as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and is also so with Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

"Past scenes" are bound to be "transformed" into "new ones." However, it take the struggle of people to bring about and complete such "transformation." The Internationale sings, "There has never been any Savior, nor do we rely on the immortals and emperors. We have to depend on ourselves to create happiness for mankind." This means that it is necessary to rely on the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people themselves. The philosophy of the proletariat is the philosophy of struggle: to wage struggle against heaven and earth, against class enemy, and against all old traditional concepts left over by history. In the course of struggle, "past scenes" are transformed into "new ones." In the course of struggle, the old world is interred, and a new world is created. The proletariat has to depend on revolutionary struggle "with wind and thunder stirring and flags and banners flying" to win everything. The great victory of the Chinese democratic revolution was won by means of struggle, the great victory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China has been won by means of struggle, and the present excellent situation of the world revolution has also been won by means of the struggle of the revolutionary people of the whole world. The future of the world will surely belong to the revolutionary people who dare to persist in struggle!

The people want to carry out revolution and struggle, but the modern revisionists are afraid of revolution and opposed to struggle. Therefore, in order to carry out revolution, the oppressed nations and the oppressed people must firmly oppose revisionism. The proletariat which has already seized political power and has to consolidate its own political power must also firmly oppose revisionism.

Seeing with his own eyes the tragic scene of the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War, Lu Hsün summed up this lesson: "The end of the revolution is probably due only to the infiltration of opportunists to bore through it from within." The revisionists are the termites within the revolutionary ranks. They practice class capitulation internally and national capitulation externally.

"Gunfire licks the heavens and shells pit the earth." This shows that the world is in great disorder and the situation is excellent. As far as the oppressed nations and the oppressed people are concerned, revolution is a grand festival because only through revolution can the old order of the exploiters be thoroughly destroyed and a new era be ushered in for the people. But because of the smoke of the people's revolutionary war of the world, "a sparrow in his bush is scared stiff. 'This is one hell of a mess! O I want to flit and fly away.'" They want to jump out and mount the stage to give a performance! These fellows "naturally cannot desist from 'distinguishing themselves' in this time of great upheaval." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, pp. 516-517)

Under Chairman Mao's pen, the ugly features of the revisionist chieftains against the revolution are truthfully, penetratingly and minutely portrayed. They say, "You must not call for revolutionary war all day long for we have here 'a jewelled palace in Elfland's hills'." "A jewelled palace in Elfland's hills" is by origin the ideal world in fairy tales. What kind of stuff is their "ideal world" after all? It is in fact also nothing new but merely the so-called world without weapons, armed forces and wars which Khrushchev wagged his tongue to sell everywhere, plus the so-called "goulash" type of "happy" life. This is not any "jewelled palace in Elfland's hills," but clearly sham communism for selling dog's meat with a sheep's head hung out for advertisement, and out-and-out revisionism. If the oppressed people heed what they say, lay down their arms and call off their struggle, they can only become slaves who can never be restored, and will forever drown and perish in pandemonium. It is not possible to "transform past scenes into new ones" in such a world. If the people who have acquired political power heed what they say, there will emerge restoration and regression, and the "new scenes" will be converted back into the "old ones." Where are now the fruits of socialist revolution obtained by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin? They have long ago been restored to resemble the "old scenes" under the rule of the old Tsars! Such a sad and tragic historical lesson can never be forgotten by the revolutionary people.

In order "to transform past scenes into new ones," it is necessary not only to wage struggle, but also to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said, "When any social phenomenon is looked upon as a phenomenon in the process of development, it is at all times possible to notice in it the traces of the past, the foundation of the present, and the bud of the future." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 45) A socialist new thing is likewise a social phenomenon in the process of development. It represents the orientation of the development of things and has strong vitality, but it also cannot be very perfect right from the beginning. Therefore, continued revolution is called for to enable it to gradually become perfect. "Look you, the world is being turned upside down." Compared with the period under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, "past scenes are transformed" in socialist China, but it still retains quite a number of the "traces" of the old era, and especially in the realm of the superstructure, the old "traces" are the more evident, for there are still many revisionist and bourgeois things. Therefore, we must wage unremitting struggle and continue the revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is in essence a great political revolution for bringing about profound changes in the superstructure, including all cultural spheres. After each great political revolution in history, there emerged large numbers of new things. The socialist new things emerging in the great proletarian cultural revolution spread all over the motherland like the resplendent flowers in the mountains, thus adding even more "new scenes" to our socialist motherland. However, it is not possible to sweep away the "traces" of all old things in one great proletarian cultural revolution. Such work to clear the old site is most formidable, and it requires us to launch unremitting attacks against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, against all old things, and to persevere in protracted struggle. It will not do to follow the beaten track, because this is in contravention of the trend of historical development and the law governing the development of things. In the history of development of mankind, the struggle between new and old things will never end. New things forever emerge without ends, and it is wrong to adopt the viewpoint of standstill or congelation, because this is not in conformity with dialectics in historical development. "And the road mounts skyward." The road of revolution has still a long way to go! Lying ahead of us there is an even more splendid and bright future! Therefore, all proletarian fighters must strive to reform their world outlook, and make a thorough break with the system of private ownership and with the traditional concepts of all exploiting classes. They must be promoters of new things and active participants in this struggle for "the transformation of old scenes into new ones."

"Past scenes are transformed." All revolutionaries invariably cheer this. Even though the new things are still very young and imperfect for the time being, they also must be warmly fostered and actively guided, so that they could healthily grow and develop. However, there are in society always those people who constantly seize hold of some imperfect aspects of new things in the process of growth. They lay hold of some problems which are in the course of being resolved and are also not difficult to resolve, find fault with them in a thousand and one ways, wilfully denounce them by attacking a specific point without touching the rest, and even stand truth on its head and confuse black and white. Those farragoes presently appearing in educational circles manifest precisely this Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts.

On the literary and art front, around the question of attitude toward the revolution in literature and art with the revolutionary model plays as its hallmark, there is likewise also a struggle in whether this revolution should be carried through to the end or abandoned in the middle and even reversed. Historical experience tells us that coming in the company of a great revolution should be affirmed or negated. The revolution in literature and art, as an important component of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is ringing with the life-and-death struggle between progress and regression, revolution and restoration, right from the beginning. Every step forward in the revolution in literature and art has to be made through struggle beset with difficulties and setbacks. We have already won great victories, but the struggle from now on is still complicated. So long as the revolutionary literary and art fighters of the proletariat firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and general and specific policies, adhere to the orientation of the revolution in

literature and art, forever preserve a sober head, charge ahead and take enemy positions with a dauntless revolutionary spirit, and clear away obstacles in their way, we certainly can constantly consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the revolution in literature and art, add brilliance to the garden of socialist literature and art with a hundred flowers in full bloom, and make it give off even more splendid and enchanting "new scenes."

At present, China is in an important period of historical development. The publication of Chairman Mao's two poems--"Chingkangshan Revisited--to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"--is of great political and actual significance. These two poems of Chairman Mao's are hymns to the revolution as well as the battle songs of continued revolution. They teach us that we must cherish the revolutionary cause ushered in by the revolutionary forerunners with bloodshed and sacrifice. They teach us that we must actively combat and guard against revisionism. They teach us that we must carry on the revolution and forever preserve our revolutionary youth. As far as we broad masses of revolutionary writers and artists are concerned, the study of these two poems of Chairman Mao's is bound to greatly inspire our revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence in victory. We certainly must carry the revolution in literature and art through to the end and do a better job in literary and art work. Let us sing aloud this revolutionary battle song and greet the new battle with the heroic spirit of "clasping the moon in the ninth heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the five seas."

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Victory belongs to the proletariat.

* * *

The Militant Mood of a Proletarian Revolutionary

- some impressions from the study of Chairman Mao's two poems

by

Fang O (方 鍔)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, January 1, 1976)

In this new year, the beginning of a new spring, we are delighted to read the two newly published poems "Chingkangshan Revivisted -- to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" by Chairman Mao, for they have ushered us into a brand-new ideological realm. Red flags flutter at the peak of Chingkangshan and guns roar at Huangyangchieh. The heroes who have clasped the moon in the ninth heaven and seized the turtles deep down in the five seas are loudly singing their song of victory as they hasten on their new journey. In the sky over the four seas that are rising and the five continents that are rocking, we see all of a sudden the roc which extends its wings "like the overhanging clouds," fights against the precarious storm, severely scolds the chirping sparrow in the bush, flaps its wings and soars up the sky.

What a brilliant heroic image! What a grand and imposing picture scroll of history! The great leader Chairman Mao, on behalf of the proletariat and hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people, and by creatively combining revolutionary pragmatism and revolutionary romanticism has uninhibitedly expressed the militant mood of a proletarian revolutionary and has profoundly expounded the truth obtained by the Chinese people through long revolutioary practice, "Nothing is hard in this world, if you dare to scale the heights." All victories of the past as well as in the future belong to those who dare to scale the heights.

"But in man's world seas change into mulberry fields." In the whole natural world and human society, movements, changes, revolutions and developments are absolute, and the rest is relative. "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying"; "gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth." Confronted by such violent revolutionary storms and disturbances, all opportunists who are afraid of getting their fingers burned by the raging fire of revolution or have reservations on "how long the red flag could continue to fly" become pessimistic and lose hope, and some even make their departure quickly, "like rats deserting the ship" and abjectly capitulate to the evil force which lords it over for the time being. However, a true proletarian revolutionary inevitably joins the people in their millions to celebrate this as a grand festival. Lenin once said, "The revolutionary order is the most normal order in the world." Because it is a revolution, a major struggle waged by one class to overthrow another, it naturally will have setbacks and sacrifices. However, it is inevitable that the revolution will ultimately end in victory, and this is independent of man's will. "In this revolution, the proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the whole world to gain."

Today, coming to Chingkangshan, "orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." After admiring the scenery, people would naturally ponder more deeply: Why is the majestic Chingkangshan so lovely? The answer is: Revolution, for it can change everything. Like all the mountains and rivers of China, Chingkangshan also has its gloomy past. "Hundreds of villages choked with weeds, man wasted away; thousands of homes decimated, phantoms sang with glee." How many generations had suffered in those difficult times! It was not until 1927, when our great leader Chairman Mao led the ranks of the Autumn Harvest Uprising to Chingkangshan, repulsed interference from opportunism and smashed the "encirclement and suppression" of the counter-revolutionaries that the first revolutionary base area was eventually established. From then on, Chingkangshan has always occupied a place in the hearts of the millions of people with a profound significance far exceeding that of Nature.

Chingkangshan is a mountain that dares to make revolution and carry out rebellion, a new world won with guns by slaves who for thousands of years had suffered no end of exploitation and suppression, and a new thing of epoch-making significance in the ancient land of China. In spite of the twists and turns suffered by new things in the process of growth, it nevertheless has risen over the horizon to become invincible. On and below the revolutionary Chingkangshan, how many awe-inspiring military feats and heroic dramas had been performed! The reactionaries brought with them foreign-made rifles and guns, gnashed their teeth and frenziedly clamored, "All reeds must be set to fire, all rocks must be put to sword and all people must have their specie mutated." However, this could only be factually regarded as the humming of flies. "Below the hill were our flags and banners, to the hilltop sounded our bugles and drums. The foe surrounded us thousands strong, but we were steadfast and never moved." When the roaring guns at Huangyangchieh wakened the millions of suffering people and the red flags of Chingkangshan were planted all over the great motherland, "past scenes are transformed" and old China was transformed into a new China.

The people will never forget the many revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed their precious lives through this great transformation. The people will also not forget the even greater number of fine young people who risked death time and again and spent their youth in a land beset by war. Now, their grey hair records the first half of their revolutionary life.

However, this is still far from enough. Chairman Mao has issued the call, "Revisit Chingkangshan!"

In human history, there had appeared in succession many classes worthy to be described as revolutionary as well as large numbers of revolutionaries representing these classes. However, more often than not their revolutionary character could only be short and limited. The Chinese landlord class in its period of ascendancy had put forward progressive philosophy for reform such as "raising the banks to form valleys and deepening the valleys to form mounds." However, in no time, the same class publicized such reactionary philosophy for regression as "Heaven changeth not, likewise, the Tao changeth not." From this to that, all exploiting classes and their representatives could only be like this.

Only the proletariat and the proletarian revolutionaries of utter devotion to others without any thought of self who work at all times for the interests of the majority of the people can forever have firm conviction in the historical dialectics of motion, change and development, forever show vigor and vitality in revolution, and forever preserve their wonderful youth. The transformation of the old Chingkangshan into a new Chingkangshan and of the old China into a new China is an unprecedented as well as an extremely remarkable victory. However, in comparison with the still greater, more arduous, and hence, more glorious historical task clearly defined in our Party Constitution, the victory already obtained is but the curtain-raiser to a long play. "Thirty-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers." This relaxed and light-hearted sentence vividly expresses how dignified and gallant is the aspiration of the great proletarian revolutionary. How tremendously inspiring it is to the comrades of our whole Party adhering to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The readers most probably are not likely to overlook the dates of the writing of these two poems. They were written in the spring and the autumn of 1965. These definitely cannot be regarded as two ordinary calendar dates, because they record a tempestuous period.

All these are still as vivid as though they have occurred only yesterday. Internationally, storm clouds of the people's revolution were gathering. The situation of great unrest, disintegration and reorganization beset the overlords with troubles internally and externally. Khrushchev was forced to step down. Taking over the swindle of the so-called Treaty of Partial Nuclear Test Ban staged by the US, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union in Moscow from the hands of his predecessor, Brezhnev held up the tray of goulash and sham communism and carried out more energetically his counter-revolutionary business.

Revisionism is an international trend of thought that knows no state boundary. Liu Shao-ch'i and a few other sparrows in the bush whose only interest was to find "a comfortable nest" for a small handful of people chirped after those foreign birds in the north. They also sang the tunes of "san-ho i-shao" and "san-tzu i-pao"* and described the mirage-type jewelled palaces in Elfland's hills as so wonderful. Chairman Mao kept sounding the alarm for the whole Party, "We must be on guard against the emregence of revisionism, and especially against the emergence of revisionism in the Central Committee." However, despite the warnings of the Party and the people, there was no perceptible change in the reactionary nature of Liu Shao-ch'i and company. A great revolutionary struggle could no longer be averted.

With the mighty vigor of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao made a tour of inspection north and south of the Yangtze River and revisited Chingkangshan after 38 years of swift changes in the world. The rumble of

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* "San-ho i-shao" means "three reconciliations and one reduction," that is, the revisionist idea of reconciliation with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of aid and support to the revolutionary struggles waged by the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world; "san-tzu i-pao" means the extension of free markets and of plots for private use, the promotion of small enterprise with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis.--CB Editor

the angry tide that was about to sweep away the mire of the old world left in the land of China was already audible. The stirring wind and thunder in the world of men sprang up in waves from the tip of the pen. These two brilliant poems written in succession by Chairman Mao expressed full confidence in the inevitable victory of the revolution in the future, mercilessly lashed at the enemy of the revolution, and pinned great hope on the comrades of the whole Party in continuing the revolution. Several months later, Chairman Mao decided to publish an article criticizing the newly adapted historical play "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." With a sweep of his mighty hand, the great leader raised the curtain to the great proletarian cultural revolution which involved a cast of millions.

From 1965 to the present, another ten years have elapsed. By means of the great cultural revolution, we have severally smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The broad masses of cadres and people have been tempered in many ways, new things have sturdily matured on all fronts, the dictatorship of the proletariat is constantly consolidated, and the cause of socialist construction is developing vigorously. Naturally, these victorious and glorious ten years can only be a mere snap of the fingers on the road of the long march in continuing the revolution, and we must continue our advance.

Speaking in a certain sense, the decade of the great cultural revolution is also the ten years of the revisit of Chingkangshan by the whole Party, the whole army and hundreds of millions of the people on the whole country under the leadership of Chairman Mao. The great cultural revolution has inherited and carried forward the revolutionary spirit of Chingkangshan under a new historical condition.

At present, our Party is leading hundreds of millions of the people in the whole country to advance bravely along the broad socialist road. Through the great cultural revolution, the ranks of our Party have become never before so unified and strong. The broad masses of Party members are more vigorous and dynamic, and have greatly enhanced their awareness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. Naturally, we should also see that although the Chinese revolution has long since turned from democratic revolution to socialist revolution, the mentality of a section of our comrades still stays with the stage of democratic revolution, and they have either not changed at all or have not changed far enough. At present, whether or not they are able to adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution is an important hallmark of whether or not they have made this ideological transformation.

The question of how to deal with the great proletarian revolution is definitely not a concrete question in general, but a question of world outlook of a fundamental nature. In the present world, factors of revolution and war are evidently increasing. "Gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth" and the world is in great chaos. At home, there are at all times classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the whole historical period of socialism. "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying" and the socialist revolutionary spirit of the people has never before been so high. Ideologically speaking, in order to adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution and consolidate the fruits of victory of

the great cultural revolution, it is necessary to gradually carry out, through persistently studying Marxism-Leninism and as we are taught by Chairman Mao's two poems, the use of the law of unity of opposites to observe the world and society, grasp the law governing the develpment of various kinds of basic contradictions in the world, and recognize the nature, object, task and future of the socialist revolution. Be it in days of victory ringing with songs of triumph or in gloomy difficult time, we must forever firmly stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations, forever breathe through the same nostrils and share the same destiny with the overwhelming majority of people, actively throw ourselves of our own accord into the mass revolutionary movement and support new socialist things with wholehearted eagerness. It should be said that the realization of such demands in the real sense can never be made in one step, but will require drawn-out efforts. Old comrades have of course to exert themselves, and the young comrades must similarly exert themselves and even make still greater efforts.

In the coming new year, let us all learn from the brilliant image of the true proletarian revolutionary as portrayed by Chairman Mao in the two poems! Let us scale the heights of Chingkangshan, cast our eyes on the magnificent mountains and rivers of the motherland with orioles singing and swallows swirling, take a sweeping look at the stormy world turned upside down, "traveled all over these green hills before we are old," remain steadfast in our determination to continue the revolution!

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Chairman Mao's Brilliant Poems Encourage People Throughout China to Win Greater Victories

(NCNA-English Peking, Jan. 2, 1976)

The Jen-min Jih-pao and all other Peking papers today frontpage a large portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao taken while he was revisiting the Chingkang Mountains in 1965.

They also frontpage a news report on the warm response which people all over China have expressed to the publication of Chairman Mao's two poems on January 1. The banner headline for this news in the Jen-min Jih-pao reads: "Chairman Mao's magnificent poems encourage people throughout the country to win still greater victories." The report says that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, having read Chairman Mao's poems, studied the New Year's Day editorial, discussed the excellent situation at home and abroad, are determined to win still greater victories in the new year by taking class struggle as the key.

Carried on the second, third and fourth pages of the Jen-min Jih-pao are notes on reading Chairman Mao's poems written by Fan Hsiu-chu, Pai Ching and Chao Pu-chu and a news item on how the people of the Chingkang Mountains read Chairman Mao's poems with great joy and enthusiasm. Other Peking papers carry respectively notes on reading Chairman Mao's brilliant poems written by workers, peasants and soldiers.

The Jen-min Jih-pao and all other Peking newspapers carry on the upper right corner of the frontpage the slogans "Long live the great Communist Party of China!" and "Advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" The papers also print the following quotations from Chairman Mao alongside of Chairman Mao's photograph: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

"Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

"Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war."

* * *

Look, the World Is Being Turned Upside Down

- after reading Chairman Mao's poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue-- to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"

by

Fan Hsiu-chu (范秀竹)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 2, 1976)

(One)

On New Year's Day, we read with joy the newly published poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" by Chairman Mao. Looking around the world, we thought of many things of the past and felt enlightened and educated by them.

The Chinese people will never forget the 1960's, during which Marxists in various countries waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet modern revisionists. Those years were years of heated polemics as well as years of blatant exposure and fierce criticism. Remember that in those days of "winter clouds snow-laden, cotton fluffs flying," wherever the Moscow capitulationists with the label of "socialism" went, fallacies betraying Marxism were talked about at length and windy nonsense prohibiting revolution was spread everywhere. They betrayed Lenin and Stalin, restored capitalism and yielded to imperialism. Frightened by the gunfire of the revolutionary armed struggle, they opposed, sabotaged and suppressed revolution. That group of shortsighted, unprincipled, shameless renegades insisted on imposing its revisionist line on peoples of various countries. However, they did not expect that in this world there were people who courageously fought against the rabid revisionist adverse stream and "returned amid triumphant song and laughter." It was in those militant days when Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in waging an anti-revisionist struggle that he wrote the brilliant poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao."

Chairman Mao wrote this poem in 1965, a year of great global upheaval. When Marxist-Leninists won an important victory in their struggle against modern revisionism after repeated trials of strength. Khrushchev stepped down from his post in 1964, thus declaring total bankruptcy on their revisionist line. The struggle did not stop there, however, but entered a fiercer and more complicated stage. Since Brezhnev came to power, he has pushed and further developed Khrushchev's revisionism and completed the transition--which started when Khrushchev was in power--from restoration of capitalism to social-imperialism. It was at that time that Chairman Mao wrote this poem. In it he applies the creative method of combining revolutionary romanticism with revolutionary realism and, in the proletarian spirit of defying the renegades to revolution, depicts the ugly features of the modern revisionists. He also mercilessly repudiates those clowns who mistakenly sized up the situation and acted against the historical trend. He points out that they will surely be punished by history.

Ten years have elapsed since Chairman Mao wrote "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao". During these ten years, Marxism-Leninism has undergone great development, the world revolution has advanced in triumph and the Soviet modern revisionists' fallacies have been exposed more and more with each passing day and have been heading for total bankruptcy. The publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" has greatly inspired our militant determination "to do away with all pests" and to carry the anti-revisionist struggle through to the end. It has inspired our confidence in fighting irresistibly and winning a victory.

(Two)

All of us still have a fresh memory of the Soviet modern revisionists' farce when they were frightened to death by the national liberation wars and civil revolutionary wars in various countries. In those years, the revolutionary struggles waged by the oppressed nations and peoples rose one after another. "Gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth." At that time, Khrushchev blared that "modern regional wars are terrifying" and "a single sparks could start a world war." In his eyes, a world war would turn the earth into "uninhabited" "ruins," and "all" that mankind possesses would be "totally destroyed." "This is one hell of a mess! O I want to flit and fly away."

The flitting and flying away of Khrushchev and his ilk led to shameless revision and thoroughgoing betrayal of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. What were the "modern regional wars" that they were talking about? They were, as the great Lenin enthusiastically put it, "the positive factors among the hundreds of millions of the awakening people who take revolutionary action to destroy the imperialist cause," and are "an immense new source of world storm." Those Soviet revisionist philistines were frightened at the very mention of revolutionary armed struggle and tried to scare people with the fallacy that war would destroy mankind. This not only proves that they had already thrown away the Leninist teaching that Communists must support just wars, but also indicates that they have become mean servants bowing to imperialism.

In the eyes of Khrushchev and his ilk, there is neither revolution nor the masses, only nuclear weapons remain, and everything else is inferior to nuclear bombs. In the unforgettable fall of 1963, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, betraying the interests of the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries in the world, and chiming in with the desires of imperialism, signed a three-state treaty on partial prohibition of nuclear tests. Khrushchev and his ilk had their own smug calculation in carefully preparing this plot.

First, they wanted the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to dominate the world and to prohibit other countries from speaking and acting freely. Khrushchev said explicitly: As long as the Soviet Union and the United States, the two "most powerful countries in the world," "are united," "there will be no war. By then, if any lunatic wants to provoke war, we can frighten him with a snap of the fingers and he will calm down." In the eyes of the nuclear-weapon worshippers, whether a country is strong or weak is judged by whether it has nuclear weapons or not; once a few nuclear powers conclude a treaty, people of all countries will

dance to their baton. Conversely, this has precisely exposed the emptiness and timidity of the Soviet modern revisionists. They collaborate with imperialism and want to issue orders by dint of their nuclear weapons, because they have divorced themselves from the people, turned against the people and have totally lost the people's support.

Second, they tried to bind the hands and feet of countries without nuclear weapons, especially socialist China, which wanted to build its own nuclear force for self-defense. The Soviet revisionists scrapped the Sino-Soviet agreements on new defense techniques, refused to provide China with technical data necessary for producing atomic bombs, and then concluded a "triple pact." All these were designed to consolidate the superpowers' nuclear monopoly and blackmail and to deprive China of its right to possess nuclear weapons for defense against nuclear threats. But, the Soviet revisionist renegades still tried to fabricate different excuses to cover up their intention. They said: China is very poor. The Chinese people are fed on broth. Production of nuclear weapons "means a great drain on China's economy." He added: Soviet Union's "powerful rockets--a nuclear shield"--insures China's "security," so China does not have to make its own nuclear weapons. What absurd lies. They were shedding crocodile tears!

The Chinese people have high aspirations. The Soviet revisionist renegade was delighted too soon with its mockery of China's backwardness. A year or so after the concoction of the triple pact, the Chinese people did just as they had said they would: a red mushroom cloud arose in the east. Almost at the same time, Khrushchev, conductor of the triple pact, stepped down. The whole meaning of the Soviet revisionists' nuclear shield, as their superspy, Lin Piao, confessed in his outline of "Project 571," was to use the Soviet revisionists' nuclear umbrella to establish a colony in China under the control of the Soviet revisionists.

Khrushchev and his ilk, in mortal fear of war and bitter hatred against the revolution, not only were unwilling to make revolution but also forbade others from making revolution. They invented the so-called "goulash communism." "There'll be plenty to eat, potatoes piping hot, with beef thrown in." It is an evil trick designed by Khrushchev by taking the bourgeois doctrine of welfare and the ordinary people's society as the model in order to distort and violate scientific communism, erode the Soviet people and cheat the peoples of other countries. When the old revisionism of the Second International took the ruling positions in many parties in Europe, a famous Communist stood up to criticize that this kind of "dead socialism" was revisionism. He said: This is "socialism with a sweet taste but without ideal and enthusiasm and having bureaucratic and patriarchal airs." This is "socialism like a man who only knows reform and sells his heirship for a small profit. To the bourgeoisie, this kind of socialism spoils the people's indignation and is an automatic stopper of the brave actions of the proletariat." The "goulash communism" invented by Khrushchev and ilk is goods of the same brand. If this sham communism, which is capitalism in reality, is carried further, it will only sharpen class confrontation between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Soviet people and will hasten the clique's journey to the grave it has dug for itself.

(Three)

"Look you, the world is being turned upside down." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique vainly tries to reverse the trend of the world and stop the advancing wheel of history. They absolutely cannot do that. The "jewelled palace in elfland's hills" which the small group of "sparrows in their bush" is nothing but a mirage.

The world situation has undergone a drastic change during the past decade. Roaring gunfire has shaken the decadent old world, and the pits left behind after shelling have quickened the awakening of the people. Newly independent countries have been born one after another in the raging flames of revolution, and time and again a small and weak nation has defeated aggression by a big and strong nation. The dam of colonialism is falling apart one large piece after another, the domain of imperialism is shrinking day by day and the strength of hegemonism is meeting rebuff everywhere. The Third World has arisen vigorously and is growing with each passing day. If has become a formidable, strong force in the world. The Third World countries grasp their natural resources in their own hands. They have defined their own territorial waters in the map. Using petroleum as a weapon, they have taught international monopoly capital a lesson. They have changed the old order in the United Nations which has long been manipulated by a few big nations. .... The "poor" countries which have all along been looked down upon have stood up and united to form one and feel proud in the international arena. Even the gentlemen in Washington have to admit sadly that the Third World "now plays a leading role on the stage of the world affairs". Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this torrential tide is sweeping every corner of the earth and rolling forward. The roaring waves have covered up the abuses the Soviet revisionist renegade level at the revolution! The two superpowers who want to seek world hegemony are being heavily encircled by the people of the world.

How was the Soviet revisionist renegade clique doing in the past decade? It did not change even slightly its nature of hating the people and opposing the revolution. Instead, it has redoubled its efforts to carry out social-imperialism and social-fascism and has engaged in aggression, intervention, control, subversion and plunder against other countries. It has become the biggest international exploiter and oppressor like US-imperialism. During these years, it wildly went in for arms expansion. With more and more atomic bombs and guided missiles in its hands and with its military strength swelling drastically, it had an increasingly growing ambition for aggression and expansion and frenziedly attempted to build a colonial empire consisting of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is bent on contending for world hegemony with the United States and has aggressively carried out an all-round counter-revolutionary global strategy, thus making itself the most dangerous seminary of a new world war today.

Proceeding from betraying revolution to rabidly suppressing revolution and from fear of war to making preparations for a war of aggression, Soviet social-imperialism has become the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.

The 10 years of intensified expansion and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism have been the 10 years during which it has hastened its

tempo on the road of decline and collapse. Soviet revisionism invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, supported the Lon Nol traitorous clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, interfered with the Arab countries, evoked military provocations in areas bordering on China, dismembered Pakistan and stretched its black hands into Angola. This series of diabolic deeds have exposed to the whole world its ugly features of a new Tsar. All its disguises under different names, such as "standard-bearer of peace" and "natural ally," have been torn off. The notoriety of "Brezhnevism" which has the smell of fascism has spread throughout the world. Because the Brezhnev clique has redoubled its efforts to go backward, its economy is in a mess, its sham "goulash communism" is notorious, and the evil results of capitalist restoration have become more and more serious. Soviet revisionism today has fallen into a predicament in which it has neither potatoes nor beef to eat and has to live on imported grain and foreign loans, thus being rebuffed and mocked at by the world's public opinion and winning the most dishonorable title of an "economic mendicant." Marx said: "In human history, there is something like retribution. According to the law of retribution in history, it is not the oppressed but the oppressors who make the retributive tools." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique of course cannot evade the historical punishment of suffering the consequences of its own evil deeds.

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Chairman Mao said in 1962, "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period." Today, the "roc," the big bird with lofty aspirations, is still "winging fanwise" high up in the sky and arousing a revolutionary "cyclone." "The blue sky on his back, he looks down" to witness boiling turbulence in all seas and continents of the earth. The scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism is sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt.

What about the future? "Look, the world is being turned upside down." History invariably develops according to the laws expounded by Marxism-Leninism. Brezhnev and company, "the sparrows" in their "bush," and the "jewelled palace in elfland's hills" of their painstaking and tedious labor will surely be swept away by the earthshaking cyclones of revolution.

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The Roc Wings Fanwise

- a study of Chairman Mao's two poems

by

Pai Ch'ing (柏青)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, January 2, 1976)

At a time the whole country is dancing with joy and striding into the year 1976 in a fighting mood, we have studied with infinite delight the two newly published poems by Chairman Mao--"Chingkangshan Revisited--to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"--which offer us a great education and great encouragement.

These two poems of Chairman Mao's were written in 1965. At that time, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party, together with other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, carried out an open polemic against the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique, and Marxism-Leninism constantly made headway and won victories in the struggle. At home, new achievements were made in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The great proletarian cultural revolution was in the making. A great political revolution for the proletariat to oppose the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes was about to start on a large scale in China. It was under the situation of this struggle at home and abroad that Chairman Mao wrote these two combat poems that rocked the mountains and rivers.

"Chingkangshan Revisited--to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" was written when Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan. Chingkangshan is the mountain of heroes! Its towering and precipitous peaks symbolize the heroic and staunch fighting spirit of the proletariat and revolutionary people of China.

In 1927, Chairman Mao led the troops of the Autumn Harvest Uprising to Chingkangshan to set up the first rural revolutionary base area. The roaring cannons at Huangyangchieh strongly rocked the dark rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and sternly criticized the Right-deviation opportunist line within the Party. From then on,the bright light from the octagonal building illuminated the long course of navigation for the Chinese revolution and brought about the great victory of the people's revolutionary.

After the birth of New China, the people of the whole country again sang aloud and vigorously thrust forward along the golden road to socialism. The heroic Chingkangshan also had "transformed its past scenes." "Orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere, and the road mounts skyward." Through portraying the picturesque natural scenes of Chingkangshan, Chairman Mao warmly praised the vigorous development of the socialist motherland. With orioles singing, swallows swirling, streams purling and the road mounting skyward, everything was so vigorous and full of vitality. It was precisely a reflection of the image of the excellent situation in the whole country.

At that time, hundreds of millions of the people had whipped up a new surging tide in the moment to study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. The workers of Tach'ing developed on the basis of self-reliance China's petroleum industry into a red banner on the industrial front. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai vigorously criticized capitalism and practiced socialism. They fought against heaven and earth, seized high yield every year and became models of the advanced on the agricultural front. Socialism was advancing in victory. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we overcame the serious difficulties caused by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which tore up the contracts and recalled its experts. We smashed the rabid attack by the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique, waged uncompromising struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, and seized one victory after another.

"Once Huangyangchieh is passed, no other perilous place calls for a glance." Only those who show no fear in scaling the pricipitous peaks can enjoy the limitless scenes in the "spectacular world." Only those who have gone through hardships and stern tests can really comprehend the happiness of struggle.

Chairman Mao climbed Chingkangshan for the first time in 1927. By 1965 thirty-eight years had elapsed. During these thirty-eight years, the revolutionary thunderstorm had cut a long course and the red flags of combat fluttered in the winds. From struggle to victory and from victory to struggle, we never stood still or took a rest. Chairman Mao mounted the towering peaks of Chingkangshan, reviewed the thirty-eight glorious years, surveyed the excellent situation of the victory of the struggle and pondered the even more formidable struggle against the victory.

For the sake of realizing the lofty ideals of communism, we have scaled numerous treacherous peaks and have even more precipitous peaks to scale. Faced with the great struggle for combating and guarding against revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, faced with the formidable task of building China into a modern socialist power within this century, and with the historic mission of overthrowing imperialism and social-imperialism and wiping out all exploitation systems on our shoulders, we must carry on the revolution. "We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas." The Chinese proletariat has such magnificent spirit! So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and carry forward the glorious tradition of Chingkangshan, we surely will overcome all enemies and surmount all difficulties. "We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter!" "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Chairman Mao's lines sum up profoundly the combat course of the Chinese revolution and stand for the bugle call for battle to continue the revolution. They will forever urge us forward!

If it is said that "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the Tune of Shui Tiao Ke T'ou" is the bugle call for continued revolution, then "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" is a proclamation for denouncing revisionism. In the latter poem, through describing the roc and the sparrow, Chairman Mao has profoundly revealed the fundamental antagonism between the two lines of Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and made a sharp criticism against the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique. "The roc wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone." This towering

and intrepid image reveals the gallant spirit of the Marxist-Leninists who see far ahead and lord it over the world. In contrast, the sparrow which makes do with a nest in the bush and is extremely insignificant and timid shows the weak and ugly nature of the modern revisionists.

Holding the law of historical development in their hands, the Marxist-Leninists are convinced that revolution can change everything. Therefore, they invariably lend firm support to the revolutionary movements and revolutionary wars of the oppressed nations and people that surge like the clouds in a rising wind. But the modern revisionists are scared to death by the situation of the world revolution with "gunfire licking the heavens and shells pitting the earth." Didn't the renegade Khrushchev once wail that "any small 'local war' would become a spark to start the conflagration of a world war" and would even "destroy our own Noah's Ark--the Globe"? Through the two lines about the sparrow in the poem, Chairman Mao vividly portrays the renegade features of the modern revisionists. They want to flee from the towns and cities in the world and to flit and fly away to the jewelled palace in Elfland's hills. In other words, they want to promote a world "free from three things"--"weapons, wars and armed forces."

In July 1963, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique signed an agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom in Moscow on the partial banning of nuclear tests. This was a fraud. They vainly attempted to consolidate their own position of nuclear monopoly through an agreement, thus forcing the people of other countries to disarm themselves in the face of the nuclear blackmail by US imperialism and Soviet revisionism so that the latter could lord it over in the world. Meanwhile, Soviet revisionism also displayed the communist signboard to advocate struggle for "a nice plate of goulash," and flagrantly distorted and tampered with the principle of scientific communism. In the poem, Chairman Mao mercilessly exposes such sham communism with a jeering tone.

There is the "triple pact" and there is also "goulash." No matter how wonderful Khrushchev has made them, they are all for hoodwinking people. Chairman Mao has not only used the image of a jewelled palace in Elfland's hills to analogize and expose their hypocritical and deceptive nature, but also used the words "stop your windy nonsense" which are imbued with righteous indignation to denounce them and to convey the contempt and resentment of the Chinese people for the revisionists at home and abroad.

The facts of the last ten years have fully shown that Chairman Mao's exposure and criticism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are most profound and of great actual significance and far-reaching historical significance. After Brezhnev came to power, he pushed Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. Soviet revisionism and another superpower gave lip service to disarmament every day, but they resorted to armaments expansion in action every day. They signed one agreement after another on "the limitation of strategic weapons" but the escalation of weapons was intensified as never before. As a late comer to the imperialist banquet, Soviet social-imperialism is more avaricious and deceptive in the pursuit of hegemony and spheres of influence, and has become the most dangerous source of war in the world today. All talks of "detente" spread by the Soviet revisionists are nothing more than the "Elfland's hills on the sea that are shapeless and illusive"!

At home, there has been all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The whole state apparatus is in the hands of a handful of bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie who dominate the wealth of the whole society. Class distinctions are intensified and national antagonism have become more acute. There is a bigger gap between the rich and the poor, and bourgeois rights are extended without limits. The abnormal development of the national economy leads to serious confusion, and agricultural production has sunk into an irreparable crisis. The perverted action of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has met with ever stronger opposition from the people of the Soviet Union and the world, and the revisionist renegade clique has sunk into a predicament from which it is unable to disengage itself. "Look you, the world is being turned upside down." This is the categorical, sonorous and powerful line used by Chairman Mao to declare that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is inevitably doomed to complete failure. No matter how rampant social-imperialism and imperialism may be for a while, they will in the end be buried by the revolutionary storm of the people that will "turn the world upside down."

Like the other poems by Chairman Mao, these two poems are brimming over with the revolutionary enthusiasm of the proletariat and glittering with the radiance of communist ideals. They embody a profound understanding of real things, have a strong spirit of the era, and are brilliant examples in the combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. After reading them, one draws tremendous encouragement from them and also find them very warm. Chairman Mao's poems embody the high degree of unity of revolutionary political content and the perfection of artistic form. What a sharp contrast the images of the roc that soars ten thousand li with the blue sky on his back and of the sparrow that timidly hides in the bush as portrayed in the poem give to the Marxists and the revisionists! "We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas." "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." How fully these deeply allegorical epigrams have expressed the ideas of fearing no hardship and continuing the revolution! With a limited number of words, Chairman Mao has so profoundly, effectively and freely expressed the major themes of continuing the revolution and combating and guarding against revisionism, as well as his superb art in summing up things.

These two poems inherit the traditional tactics of poetry in the classical form on the one hand, and on the other hand, they also make revolutionary innovations to enable the form to conform to the need of the content, thus really weeding out the old to let the new emerge and making the past serve the present. The ancient allusions, the available poetic lines, the folklores are all used to express important revolutionary themic thoughts and are given new meanings after they have been reformed by Chairman Mao. The poem "To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" is written in a way that completely abolishes the boundary between the first part and the second part, and like the drifting cloud and the running water, it is written in one breath. These two poems are fluent and sonorous when read. "Two Birds: A Dialogue" is an allegorical form of questions and answers. The colloquial language is used and the salient features of folksongs are assimilated. It is a vivid portrayal of real life, makes a solemn subject sound funny, and is thought provoking. It makes pungent sarcasm of the modern revisionists and sharply refutes them.

Chairman Mao's poems have set brilliant examples for our literary and art creation, and are of important guiding significance to how modern poetry should learn better from folksongs and critically inherit the fine traditions of poems in the classical form.

The publication today of these two poems written by Chairman Mao on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution is of great political and actual significance. At present, we are fighting for the consolidation and development of the great fruits of the great cultural revolution. The great cultural revolution is a great practice for combating and guarding against revisionism under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. How to treat the great cultural revolution, whether to affirm or negate it, is an important question of principle bearing on the continuation of the revolution or the practice of restoration and regression. In his poem, Chairman Mao calls on us "to aspire to reach for the clouds," to carry on the revolution, and to advance forever along the road to combat and guard against revisionism. We must continue to carry forward the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "clasping the moon in the ninth heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the five seas," and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against all enemies at home and abroad.

Let us fight courageously like the roc winging fanwise in the revolutionary storm to "turn the world upside down" along the road charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to greet new and greater victories.

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Looking at the World from the Heights of Chingkangshan

by

Tsang K'o-chia (臧克家)

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao Jan. 3, 1976)

The poem "'Chingkangshan Revisited'--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko Tou" begins with "I have long aspired to reach for the clouds."

We can comprehend the mood and state of mind Chairman Mao was in when he revisited Chingkangshan at the time of the flourishing development of socialist revolution and construction after the nationwide liberation. This beginning of the poem has opened up an infinitely vast frontier to us and caused our hearts to beat with excitement and our fancy to take wings. It not only has enabled us to see the elegant smiling face of Chingkangshan after the liberation, but also reminds us of the scene of strenuous battle in which "the foe surrounded us thousands strong, but we were steadfast and never moved," and the majestic bearing depicted by the verses, "our defense was strong as a wall" and "our wills united like a fighting fortress," as well as the surging spirit of revolutionary optimism of the past.

Affairs of state change, and the world rolls on. This "aspiration to reach for the cloud" has reminded us of "The Hsiang Chiang Commentary"--a seed of revolution sown in the period of the "May 4" movement, the "Autumn Harvest Uprising"--the first red flag planted on this revolutionary summit, and the revolutionary spirit of firmly believing that "A single spark can start a prairie fire" under the dead weight of the three big mountains and under the dark reactionary rule. It was under the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary people of the whole country united and, with the fury of thousands of stampeding stallions and in the form of a turbulent current of struggle, swept away the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dynasty. The crowing of the cock heralded the dawn. "Red is the east, the sun has risen."

From the war-torn days when "Below the hill were our flags and banners, to the hilltop sounded our bugles and drums," to the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution, thirty-eight years have gone by with a mere snap of the fighters. Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan. What a striking contrast there is between the two eras and the two worlds!

In the long river of history, thirty-eight years are but a ripple Yet, how many fiery struggles have taken place during this time! Standing on Chingkangshan, Chairman Mao saw orioles singing, swallows swirling and heard streams purling..... Isn't this youthful scene of growing vigor and vitality an imposing microcosm of the many-splendored, rapidly-developing revolutionary cause throughout the country after the liberation? In the thirty-eight years, the world has been turned upside down and "past scenes are transformed"--there have been struggle, bloodshed and war....., how rich and far-reaching their significance is! Again reading "Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve which dares to make sun and moon shine in new skies,"

we are high in spirit and firm in determination and we will carry the socialist revolution through to the end and preserve forever the vitality of the Communist ideal!

Seeing the excellent, pleasant situation in Chingkangshan, Chairman Mao contemplated the present and recalled the past, and seemed to see once more the red flags of the past flying before his eyes. His heart was again stirred by the mighty spirit of the worker-peasant Red Army which dared to brave the storm and shake heaven and earth. Adhering to continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and building the great cause of socialism is no easy task. It is necessary to keep "flags and banners flying." "If the army and people are united as one, who in the world can match them?" So long as we take a correct stand, follow the correct line and have the ambition to move mountains and seas and the lofty spirit of fearing no sacrifice, we shall certainly be able to triumph over revisionism, defeat class enemies of all colors and shapes and scale the pinnacle of the ideal of Communism like the heroes who ascended Jolmo Lungma! So long as we have a correct line and the revolutionary spirit of "clasping the moon in the ninth heaven" and "seizing turtles deep down in the five seas," we shall certainly be able to "return amid triumphant songs"!

The poem "Chingkangshan Revisited" has summed up the experience of the past thirty-eight years of struggle, displayed the brilliant vista of the socialist motherland, and encouraged us to keep on making revolution and advancing courageously to consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and to create a more magnificent and beautiful tomorrow!

How can a sparrow know the spirit of a roc? This is an ancient proverb used to illustrate a striking contrast between the big and the small and between the elite and the lowly. However, this contrast only implies the lack of acquaintance between the sparrow and the roc.

The "roc" and the "bush sparrow" in "'Two Birds: A Dialogue'--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" by Chairman Mao are totally different. The contrast between them is filled with profound actual significance and strong political content. The roc wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone in the limitless skies, and has a strong will of its own. The world of the sparrow's activities is only between the hedges. What is important is that Chairman Mao has put them as two opposite aspects of a contradiction and as two antagonistic opponents in a confrontation. The "roc" becomes the embodiment of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the "bush sparrow" represents revisionist ideology. The relations between the "roc" and the "bush sparrow" reflect the contradiction and struggle between two absolutely opposite world outlooks, two different stands and two different lines. They are irreconcilable.

Owing to their difference in political stand and line, they have opposite views of all things and problems in history and in the present society. Take war for example. The moment he hears "gunfire licking the heavens," the "bush sparrow" starts to tremble and to "flit and fly," searching for the "mirage" of peace and tranquility and the "jewelled palace in elfland's hills." In direct contrast, the "roc," pulling himself together, wants to turn the old world completely upside down. The sarcasm of the last two lines in this poem vividly portrays the mood, the spirit, the inner feeling and the aspiration of the "roc."

Chairman Mao has borrowed the "roc" from "Chuang Tzu's 'Carefree Travel'" just to illustrate a tall image. The allusion made by Chairman Mao is an expression of the broad-mindedness and political foresight of the proletariat. He makes a powerful call to all the revolutionary people of China and of the world and points out to them the orientation and the road of the struggle.

As for the question of war and peace, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago: There are just wars and unjust wars. We should approve of and support just wars and oppose unjust wars. We should eliminate counter-revolutionary wars with revolutionary wars. At present, factors of revolution and war are growing evidently. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are stepping up their contention for world hegemony. If this contention continues, it will inevitably lead to a new world war. Today, the most dangerous source of war is precisely this newly-emerging upstart, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. It is full of evil ambition and stretches its paws everywhere in an attempt to follow Hitler's old road of seeking world hegemony. The arms race between them becomes more and more intense, but they energetically set off a smoke-screen by talking about "detente" and the "doctrine of peace." Renegades to proletarian revolution in the International Communist Movement, from Khrushchev to Brezhnev, signed such pacts as the Partial Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and clamored: "A spark in any locality may start a conflagration of a world war." They energetically pushed their "ideal kingdom" of the "three-nothing world" as if they were the reincarnation of the Goddess of Mercy with a bottle of holy water in their hands and sprinkling with a willow branch the nectar of "peace" on the mortal world. However, at the same time, their warships are cruising insolently in the oceans, and their military expenditures, like the rising murcury column of a barometer by the side of a fire, increase year after year. Imperialism gives rise to war. They want war but clamor for peace. What else is it if it is not "windy nonsense"? Their "windy nonsense" is filled with the smell of gun-smoke.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"! This is a great maxim which has been proved time and again and will still continue to be proved by experience. It is a pointer for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and an infinitely powerful force. Chairman Mao wrote this poem in 1965. Ten whole years have elapsed since then. Its scientific foresight and Marxist truth illuminate the present struggle of the revolutionary people of the world. Whether war causes a revolution or revolution stops a war, the future of the world is always bright, and the world will invariably be overturned. The proletariat and all the oppressed and exploited people of the whole world will smash the chains on their necks. They fear neither threats nor clamor of war. They dare to struggle and to win victory. So, they are able to triumph over a superior force or a strong nation. Aren't the mighty victories of the peoples of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos and the tremendous victory of the people of various countries of the Third World the most convincing proof? Khrushchev's lies of "goulash" and lasting "peace" in "communism" and Brezhnev's singing of "detente" in falsetto are nothing but evil talks intended to hoodwink the people. Behind the mask of "peace" is a vicious and bloody mouth. People of all countries should heighten their vigilance and be prepared against this.

Chairman Mao has taught us that we should "make the past serve the present" and "weed out the old to let the new emerge" in handling our literary

heritage. Chairman Mao wrote these poems in the old form. At a glance, there is a kind of mighty force tearing down the barriers of old poetry. If we read carefully all the poems of Chairman Mao, we'll see that many of the methods of artistic presentation are brand new and creative. We must study them well and appreciate them carefully. I myself am fond of old-style poetry and have also learned to write poems. The writing of old-style poetry has to follow a set of given rules, otherwise it is not old-style poetry. However, at the same time, we must also make a breakthrough, otherwise it cannot be old-style poetry of today. The old-style poems written by Chairman Mao are precisely a great brilliant example of "making the past serve the present" and "weeding out the old to let new things emerge." The use of quotations or allusions is a method of presentation in old-type poems. However, if this rule is strictly followed for the sake of making the poetry "elegant," it might produce adverse effect instead. The poems by Chairman Mao have used a small number of familiar quotations or allusions but bestowed a brand new meaning to them. The "roc" and the "quail" in "Chuang Tzu's Carefree Travel" alluded to two species of big and small fowls, but they both "had something to rely on" and could not attain absolute freedom. This philosophical ideology of Chuang Tzu in seeking absolute freedom was reactionary. In using this quotation Chairman Mao places the "roc" and the "bush sparrow" in antagonistic positions to reflect figuratively the anti-revisionist struggle. In the footnote to the poem "Opposing the 'First Seige'--to the tune of Yu Chia Ao," Chairman Mao regards Kung Kung, a character in a fairy tale, as a victorious hero and makes him a symbol of the revolutionary force of the Worker-Peasant Red Army. Again in "The Immortal, written for Li Shu-i--to the tune of Tieh Lien Hua," he bestows on Wu Kang--who chopped down the cinnamon tree on the moon, as told in a fairy tale--the noble quality of sympathizing with the revolutionary martyrs. Examples like these are quite numerous.

The writing of poetry demands terseness. Fewer words are used in old-type poems, and terseness is still more essential. In his poems, Chairman Mao has also made outstanding achievement in this point. On revisiting Chingkangshan, Chairman Mao contemplate the present, recollects the past and sees that the scenes are transformed. How rich is the content. He uses only three lines "Orioles sing, swallows swirl; Streams purl everywhere; And the road mounts skyward" to describe the scenery. They actually symbolize the vigorous atmosphere in the whole of new China and manifest the revolutionary optimistic spirit. In the first two lines--"Long was the night and slow the crimson dawn to spread in this land; For hundreds of years have demons and monsters swept in a swirling dance"--in "Reply to Mr. Liu Ya-tzu--to the tune of Wan Hsi Sha," a great deal of things have been included. In other places, such as "The mountain goddess, if she is still there, will be started to find her world so changed," and "The autumn wind is sighing still today--the world has changed," the method of contrast has been used to tersely manifest the two completely different worlds and eras. Terseness is the product of a high degree of artistic summation. This is not only a question of the method of presentation, but is also closely linked with ideological content. If the author does not have rich experience in revolutionary struggle, his summation would be insipid, tasteless and dull. On the other hand, if he only has rich experience in life but lacks the ability to make artistic presentation, he cannot eliminate the dross and retain the

essential and imbue the writing with deep meaning. Lu Fang-weng said when he talked about the creation of poetry: "The loom and the cotton are ours to use, but the art of cutting and tailoring does not depend on scissors and yardstick." This can be used for our reference.

In language application in old-type poetry, Chairman Mao blazed a new trail for us by going through the practice of artistic creation himself. In the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, Huang Tsun-hsien advocated "revolution in poetry," "tried to create a new world of poetry" and established a "new school of poetry." He used to boast, "I write the way I speak." He attempted a breakthrough in the old rules of poetry. Actually, his materials were drawn from old books and his writing was full of old quotations and allusions. He only used a few "local words or idioms" or such new terms as "ballon," "Atlantic ocean," "tobacco leave," and "petroleum," etc. This was only a minor breakthrough. Toward his declining years, he also "felt quite repentant" and wanted very much "to restrain himself and mend his way." I often think that comrades engaged in the writing of new poetry should try to read some classical poems and songs. Otherwise, how could they develop new poetry on the basis of critically succeeding to classical poems, verses and folk-songs? Comrades writing old-type poems should also pay attention to the use of modern language in new poetry. The poems written by Chairman Mao are profound and rich in content, but the language can be easily understood. Many of the lines are not only "colloquialism" but actually are phrases used in daily life. "We are now truly busy sharing out land and holding," "acting with one mind," "today it seems still more fair," "the sky is three foot three above men," "if we reach not the Great Wall, we are no true men" and "the fishing boats from Chinwangtao".... Such phrases defy counting. This is particularly more prominent in the poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue." Who among the poets of past and present dared to user such phrases as "windy nonsense" and "seizing turtles" in their works? The popularization and revolutionization of language are in the service of political content. This is precisely the point our poets and composers must strive to achieve.

The poems written by Chairman Mao have forcefully summarized the actual revolutionary struggle, and at the same time, also point out the rosy, brilliant future ahead. After reading them, one is deeply moved and excited. This is because Chairman Mao has used the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in reaching the pinnacle of revolutionary art. Such creative methods are closely linked with the political content of the revolution. Without rich practical experience in revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary realist method of presentation will lose its soil; the revolutionary romanticist method of presentation stems from the lofty revolutionary ideal. Without the latter, the former will become a hypocritical empty slogan. In learning the creative method from Chairman Mao, we must first study his thinking and his great revolutionary practice and learn from him his high skills of artistic presentation.

Eighteen years ago, when the "Poetry Magazine" was founded, eighteen poems by Chairman Mao were published. They shook the world, and their tremendous influence was like the mighty swell of the ocean. Today, on the re-publication of the "Poetry Magazine," Chairman Mao again publishes

his two poems. This is a political event of vital significance! On this occasion, both heaven and earth have taken on new splendor and the New Year has a more joyous atmosphere. The people of the whole country and the whole world hail and dance with joy and are seething with fervor. Let imperialists and social-imperialists bow their heads in despair and weep with sorrow!

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Thorough Bankruptcy of the "Goulash" Type of Sham Communism

- Some understanding in the study of Chairman Mao's poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"

by

Shu Tung (舒冬)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, January 3, 1976)

With the artistic tactic of strong contrast and the style of thoroughness, Chairman Mao's poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao," has given a concentrated portrayal to the betrayal, capitulation, insignificance and philistinism of modern revisionism. This brilliant poem by Chairman Mao vividly brings out on paper the ugly features of those "sparrows in the bush" of Moscow who with trembling hands timidly hold on to the signboard of sham communism based on "goulash" in front of the revolutionary torrent, and makes pungent sarcasm of the renegades which gives the revolutionary people a sense of satisfaction.

There is only one kind of genuine communism which is the scientific communism founded by Marx and Engels. There are all kinds of bogus communism, and the so-called "goulash communism" invented by the historical clown Khrushchev is one of them. Khrushchev said that communism meant "a dinner plate loaded with the products of physical labor and spiritual labor." He said, "Mere revolutionary impulse is not enough. We also need a plate of nice goulash." This had been described as a great "achievement" of Khrushchev in the "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism. This "achievement" lies in that Khrushchev and his ilk have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and revolution, and completely cast away the revolutionary spirit used by Lenin and Stalin to found socialism. And they themselves have become a group of "sparrows in the bush" who lack insight and integrity. At present, whenever Khrushchev is mentioned, people will think of "goulash," and whenever mention is made of "goulash," people will recall the sham communism practiced by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

However, not long after the birth of "goulash" "communism," its concocter fell. His successor Brezhnev probably felt that "goulash" lacked elegance, and he changed it to a version more pleasing to the ears called "communism" "with everything for mankind and the happiness of mankind." However, the public opinions of some countries are also clearly aware that Brezhnev has done nothing more than to change the name, and point out that his "communism" is so-called "communism" "with a chicken in each pot." Be it "goulash" or "a chicken in each pot," it is nothing more than "communism" of appeal to the stomach as described by Khrushchev.

In light of the bogus communism of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk, Chairman Mao made an effective exposure and merciless criticism in his poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao": "There'll be plenty to eat, potatoes piping hot with beef thrown in. Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down." This has thoroughly exposed the renegade features of Khrushchev and his ilk who used

the so-called "principle of material interest" such as "goulash" to revise Marxism and betray proletarian internationalism, and pointed out that since Brezhnev carries on Khrushchev's bogus communism and moves against the current, he is bound to end in ignominious bankruptcy like Khrushchev.

At a time the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was flaunting its "goulash" type of sham communism, the revolutionary movement of the people of different countries was vigorously surging in the world. As outlined by Chairman Mao in his poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao," "gunfire licks the heavens and shells pit the earth." In the face of the revolutionary struggle of the people and the national liberation movements that sprang up like the clouds in a rising wind and flared like fire set to dry tinder, the Khrushchev gang of "sparrows in the bush" were scared to death out of the fear that their fortune might thus be ruined. Therefore, the Soviet revisionist renegades vociferously peddled the trash of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," and advertised the "goulash" type of sham communism. Without making revolution themselves, they were also opposed to the making of revolution by other people. Only they were allowed to carry out armaments expansion and war preparations, but the others were prohibited from offering resistance to oppression and aggression. They used the "pie in the sky" of "goulash" to hoodwink the Soviet people, so that they could turn back the wheel of history and carry out all-round restoration of capitalism at home. Meanwhile, they tried their utmost to publicize that the Soviet Union's "new victory won in building communism (i.e., with 'goulash') is for fulfilling its own internationalist responsibility to the international working class." "When we have goulash, you will have everything." They wanted the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world to abandon struggle, and to subordinate the revolutionary cause of the people to their general line of "peaceful co-existence." How vicious this plate of "goulash" was.

The communist society preached by Marx and Engels is one in which classes and class distinctions are thoroughly wiped out, the people as a whole have a high degree of communist awareness and a high degree of enthusiasm for and consciousness in labor, there are abundant products in society, the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" is implemented, and the state withers away. Only when all these conditions are realized will there really be communist society. "Development toward communism must go through the dictatorship of the proletariat and can never follow any other road."

At a time Khrushchev and his ilk brought about the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, they said nothing about the abolition of classes and class distinctions, about the high degree of communist ideological consciousness and morality of the people as a whole, about the high degree of labor enthusiasm and consciousness of the people as a whole, but talked at length about "goulash communism," thus tampering with and altering the communist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" into "well fed, well clothed and well housed." This is a shameless blasphemy and debasement of communism. Is it not the same kind of stuff as the sham communism of so-called "freedom and bread for everybody" advocated by the renegade Kautsky?

According to the criteria of Khrushchev and his ilk, communism is realized when there is "goulash." Doesn't it mean then that some well-developed capitalist countries are also taking big strides toward communism? Can there be anything more preposterous? Two American economists called Johnson and Ruskin say with an air of complacency in their book Production and Development of American Economy that American capitalism is in the course of guaranteeing the realization of the principle of the second phase of communism. Their delirium is obviously most ludicrous, but it is entirely possible to find its origin from the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. It is very clear that the sham communism practiced by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk is genuine capitalism. No wonder it was greatly admired and praised by imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie at that time. They praised, "Mr. Khrushchev has also said that the Russian brand of communism is for putting education and goulash above all else. This is very good. Goulash communism is better than warlike communism." Isn't it very tragic that the veteran bourgeoisie should have a relish for "goulash communism"? However, Khrushchev and his ilk brazenfacedly boasted that the bourgeoisie "would drool over" his "goulash," that the reactionaries "would not part with such a palatable thing even when they are dragged away by the ears," and that people hostile to communism "would volunteer to come under the banner of this system." These few words have vividly portrayed the features of the renegades characterized by "ugly smugness and despicable hypocrisy." (Lenin: "To Comrade Y. Schlöpunikov")

Beating his chest, Khrushchev had vowed at the Soviet revisionist "22nd Congress" in 1961 that "we shall basically complete the building of a communist society within twenty years." There are now only five years left from these twenty years, and we would like to see what Khrushchev's "communist" state actually looks like. Regrettably, what people notice is that due to the all-round restoration of capitalism, productive forces in society have been knocked to pieces, regression on a large scale has emerged, economic plans have again and again come to nought, and agricultural production has gone downhill and is in a state of exhaustion. The Soviet Union was originally a grain exporting country in the socialist era, but during the eleven years Khrushchev was in power, Soviet Union imported in all 14 million tons of grain, and during the eleven years under the rule of Brezhnev, the Soviet Union set a major record by importing as much as 32 million tons of grain. Due to crop failures for years in succession, the Soviet Union has been worse off in agriculture each year. In 1974, the potato output dropped by 25 percent compared with 1973. In 1975, the grain output amounted only to 137 million tons. It was a year of lowest grain output for Soviet revisionism in the last ten years, and was also a year with the biggest margin of decline in output in the past twenty years. The newspapers and magazines of other countries pointed out that due to poor grain harvests and insufficient fodder, and "there is a shortage of potatoes and beetroot," "the number of pigs slaughtered has exceeded the number planned by 20 percent, and the number of chickens slaughtered is even higher. Seen in the long run, there will be even less meat on the table for the Russians." The Russians cannot afford beef and are also short of potatoes. Their plates hold but American grain, and Soviet revisionism has sunk into the state of relying on grain import from abroad for food. The "jewelled palace in Elfland's hills" of "goulash communism" is so desolate and miserable.

The disaster brought by the all-round restoration of capitalism by Khrushchev and Brezhnev falls squarely on the heads of the proletariat and the working people in the Soviet Union. But a handful of bourgeois elements of bureaucratic monopoly lead a life of pride, luxury, debauchery and idleness. The rich get richer and the poor become poorer. The proletariat and the working people of the Soviet Union are in the predicament of the oppressed and the exploited. They "are not forging the key to happiness" as described by Brezhnev, but are forging weapons for the overthrow of the rule of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. The Soviet people will one day rise to destroy the "jewelled palace in Elfland's hills" of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk vainly attempt to use the "goulash" type of sham communism to impede the forward movement of the wheel of history. This is something as foolish as trying to stop the train with a fence made of twigs. (Lenin's "On Left Narodism") This group of reactionary and stubborn idiots are doomed to complete failure.

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Revolutionary People Hail the Changing World

- a study of Chairman Mao's poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao"

by

Yü Hsiao (宇曉) of a certain PLA unit

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, January 3, 1976)

At the moment when we, full of militant heroism, are about to step victoriously into 1976, two poems "Chingkangshan Revisited -- to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko Tou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" by Chairman Mao are published! Ths is an important event in the political life of the Chinese people and a tremendous education and inspiration to the revolutionary people who are fighting to consolidate and develop the gains of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao's poems have with great incisiveness and power given expression to the surging revolutionary vigor and displayed the great features of our era. This poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" has used the strong contrast between the roc soaring in Ninth Heaven and the sparrow flitting and flying from bush to bush to acidly expose and ridicule the modern revisionists. At the same time, it uses "heaven-licking gunfire" to depict the revolutionary momentum of the heroic struggle of the world's people and to elucidate the law of historical development defined by the line "the world is being turned upside down." Here, the parable of the roc and the sparrow has been completely bestowed with the revolutionary political content of the proletariat. Looking back to the militant course we have paced in the sixties under Chairman Mao's leadership, we appreciate more fully the mighty revolutionary spirit and tremendous actual significance manifested by this poem. Only a short time ago, the Soviet revisionist renegades twittered like sparrows and attempted to extinguish the revolutionary fire ignited by the people of the world, to contend for world supremacy and dream the fond dreams of the old tsars. However, nobody can stop the mighty wheel of history. With great foresight, our great leader Chairman Mao personally leads us in unfolding a heroic struggle against modern revisionism. "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" is a precise summation and a figurative portrayal of this struggle.

"Gunfire licks the heavens, shell pit the earth." The world is in chaos, but the situation is excellent. This is fine because it has confused and divided the enemies and wakened and steeled the people. In the heaven-licking gunfire, the old world will be destroyed and a new world born. Because of this, the modern revisionists who always try to save the old system from destruction, are frightened to death. They call out in fear, "This is one hell of a mess! O I want to flit and fly away." Where can they flit and fly to? The sparrow replies, "To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills." The so-called "jewelled palace in elfland's hills" is nothing but the "three-nothing world" "without weapons, armed forces and wars" promoted by Khrushchev and his kind, and the phoney "goulash" communism. The lines "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you,

the world is being turned up side down" in the poem have completely manifested the forceful reply of the world's proletariat and revolutionary people to the modern revisionists. This phoney communism will inevitably become completely bankrupt in "the world which is being turned upside down."

Chairman Mao's poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" has skillfully borrowed an old parable, and by making a revolutionary change, profoundly reflected the life of actual struggle. At the same time, drawing the invariable law of historical development from actual struggle, it has predicted that the whole world will be reborn in the course of "being turned upside down." This is not only an example of "making the past serve the present" and "weeding out the old to let the new emerge" but also a brilliant example of applying the creative method of integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

To the accompaniment of the raging clouds and waters of the Four Seas and the roaring winds and thunder of the Five Continents let us loudly recite this poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chao." We shall understand more fully that the excellent revolutionary situation prevailing in the world today is derived from the struggle of the proletariat and people of the whole world against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States! Today, factors for revolution and war are evidently growing. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is still shouting itself hoarse to spread such lies as "peace," "disarmament" and "detente." Actually, it is frantically building up its forces, preparing for war and stepping up its contention with US imperialism for hegemony. It has become the most dangerous source of war. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance, make all preparations for a war against aggression and be ready at all times to annihilate any invading enemy.

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Literary and Art Workers in Peking Acclaim Chairman Mao's Poems

(NCNA-English Peking, Jan. 4, 1976)

Over 400 literary and art workers in the Chinese capital gathered yesterday to warmly discuss what they had learned from Chairman Mao's two brilliant poems: "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou" and "Two Birds: a dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao." At the meeting, a Central Philharmonic Society sang in grand chorus the two poems set to music.

Sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the meeting was attended by writers, composers and performers of the model revolutionary theatrical works and veteran literary and art workers who, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, have greatly changed their mental outlook and achieved new successes in revolution in literature and art. Among them were writers, dramatists, cinema workers, painters, musicians and dancers, as well as worker-peasant-soldier students of art schools and institutes.

Chairman Mao's magnificent poems were warmly praised at the meeting. The revolutionary literary and art workers pointed out that these two poems, through art media which splendidly combine revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, expressed the lofty aspirations and determination of the proletariat, delineated the excellent situation in the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, enthusiastically extolled the daring revolutionary spirit of the Chinese proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over, and set forth the truth that Marxism is sure to defeat revisionism and the revolutionary people are certain to sweep away all pests.

Composer Yu Hui-yung, Minister of Culture, said at the meeting: "The two brilliant poems by Chairman Mao have, through their tremendous political convincingness and immense artistic impressiveness, educated the revolutionary people in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, in the revolutionary traditions and revolutionary optimism, and in the current revolutionary situation and the lofty revolutionary ideal. The poems have also provided a brilliant example, with regard to literary and artistic creation, of combining revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, of achieving the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form, of striving to portray the heroic image of the proletariat and of 'making the past serve the present' and 'weeding through the old to bring forth the new'."

Yuan Shui-pai, a poet, told the meeting about the background against which the two poems were written, and about their political significance and artistic features. He said: "We will draw revolutionary strength from Chairman Mao's magnificent poems, arm ourselves with them ideologically, ceaselessly criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and strive for the consolidation and development of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of revolution in literature and art."

Yang Chun-hsia, a young actress who played the part of Ko Hsiang in the revolutionary modern Peking opera "Azalea Mountain", said: "In writing and rehearsing the opera, our group lived in Chingkangshan, the cradle of revolution, and participated in physical labor there. We saw with our own eyes the thriving scene of 'orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward' as described by Chairman Mao in his poem 'Chingkangshan Revisited'. Moreover, we were deeply moved by the great fighting spirit displayed by Chairman Mao who kindled the flames of the Chinese revolution in Chingkangshan in 1927." "I will follow the revolutionary road indicated by Chairman Mao, keep to the orientation of revolutionary literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, continue to portray heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers and plunge into revolution in literature and art with concrete deeds," she stated.

The revolutionary literary and art workers in their speeches made the pledge: inspired by Chairman Mao's revolutionary poems, they would persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, deepen the criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, work hard to create literary and art works with "the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form" and make socialist literature and art more flourishing.

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Join Hands With the Workers and Peasants and Scale the Pinnacles of Science

by

Hua Lo-keng (华罗庚)

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, January 4, 1976)

On the New Year's Day of this year, the two poems written by our great teacher Chairman Mao in 1965 were published. This was a big happy event to the people of the whole country.

These two brilliant works by Chairman Mao give expression to the proletarian soaring aspiration and spirit of struggle as embodied in the words, "We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven; and seize turtles deep down in the five seas." They not only run counter to the moral degeneration of 100 generations on the poetic forum and set the right course for 10,000 years to come, but also are of tremendous political significance, and will greatly inspire us to fight for communism all our life with confidence grown a hundredfold.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This is not only a summary but also an opening page, with the historical experience of the previous stage summed up and a new page turned to reveal coming history. As an aged scientist, I have gone through the new and old societies and witnessed the serious ravage of our science and technology by the Kuomintang reactionaries and the interference with and sabotage of our scientific and technical work by the revisionist "sparrow in the bush." I have also seen the enormous changes in our scientific and technical work under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Recalling the past, the world has really been turn upside down; looking ahead, we see more clearly our heavy responsibilities and the long road ahead.

In the scientific sphere, there are numerous peaks with one towering over the other. In the long river of truth, knowledge knows no bounds. In class society, scientific research is always in the service of a given class and is bound to be stamped with the brand of a class. Amidst the numerous peaks, which peak should we scale, whom should we scale it for, and how should we scale it?

In the past, behind the closed doors of the ivory tower, I buried myself in foreign books and ancient Chinese classics. After scaling some "heights," I was full of conceit. But how many peaks there were? What benefits did the people get? I knew nothing! This way of scaling heights only ended up in my climbing to the boots of foreigners. This ran counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and was actually trailing behind the foreigners at a snail's pace. As the stand was wrong and the line equally wrong, one would be like Confucius who went up to Mount Tai and thought the world was small. Such a scientist could only become the proverbial frog at the bottom of the well in the scientific sphere and could never scale the real heights of science.

The great proletarian cultural revolution opened up a new situation with the workers, peasants and soldiers occupying the scientific and technical sphere. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the professional scientists and technicians integrated themselves with the workers and peasants to conduct open-door scientific research. Together they formed an imposing scientific and technical army that scaled one peak after another. The vigorous development of the mass scientific experiment movement has brought in one crop after another of new fruitful results. It was really echoing with the song of triumph and abounding in changes.

I was born lucky, and with Chairman Mao guiding me in each step and with the help of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, I have walked along for over ten years. Since the great cultural revolution, I have plunged myself into the torrent of mass struggle. I have covered 10,000 li and gone to many provinces and municipalities to learn from the masses and serve the people. In the course of popularizing the methods of overall planning and optimum selection in different places, the broad masses criticized Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and quickly mastered the methods of overall planning and optimum selection for application in production, scientific research and many other spheres. The fruits of experiments numbered by the thousands, and very satisfactory results were reaped. The spirit of the workers, peasants and soldiers in bravely scaling the heights of science and technology gave me great education and encouragement, and enabled me to achieve something and do something which I should do for the people. What I lost was but the chains of fame and gain and the manacles of self-conceit.

As I repeatedly recite Chairman Mao's brilliant poems and look back over the course I have followed in learning from the masses of the people under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, I am so overwhelmed with a flood of emotions, that I have written the following poems for my own encouragement:

Be the jaunty steed of Hulanpuir,
Be the perky eagle of Chu-mu-lang.
Ride off into the wilderness with an ambition
to cover 1,000 li,
Glide off into the air with a will to reach for
the clouds,
Keep on climbing forever without stopping.

Make a drastic break with old traditions;
Seize the day and the hour for new things.
Work not for the individual but for the people,
And always look up to Chairman Mao as our teacher.

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An Ideological Weapon for Combating and Guarding Against Revisionism

by

the worker-peasant-soldier students of the class of 74 in the specialty in classical documents under the Department of Chinese, Peking University

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, January 5, 1976)

After reading the two poems published by Chairman Mao on New Year's Day, we are profoundly educated and tremendously inspired. These two poems by Chairman Mao are the bugle call sounding the advance on socialist revolution and construction, militant summonses to arms for the criticism of revisionism, as well as powerful ideological weapons for our broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students pledged to carry the revolution in education through to the end.

Chairman Mao uses the words, "past sciences are transformed" and "the world is being turned upside down," to outline the excellent situation at home and abroad. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, earth-shaking changes have occurred on the educational front under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Under Chairman Mao's order that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything" the working people and the poor and lower-middle peasants have moved into the school to basically transform the domination of the school by bourgeois intellectuals. Chairman Mao's brilliant "July 21" instruction, like a peal of thunder in spring, has ushered in a benign spring on the educational front, and group after group of worker-peasant-soldier students with practical experience from all parts of the motherland have entered this new type of socialist university. Recently, the graduating classes of Peking University and Tsinghua University resolutely followed the road of integration with the workers and peasants, made their way to rural areas, frontierland and places where they were most needed by the motherland. They took practical action to restrict bourgeois right and counter-attack the Rightist wind to reverse past verdicts. Compared with the old Peking University dominated by the revisionist educational line where many students became separated from the workers and peasants, pursued personal fame and gain and sought a life of comfort and indolence, people are able to see more clearly the two lines that yield two kinds of results. We are elated and inspired by such profo changes in the sphere of education. Open-door education with the departme of arts taking the whole society as factory has enabled the broad masses of teachers and students to participate in actual struggle and play a combat role while in school. Our department alone has in the past few years written more than a thousand articles for newspapers and journals and published scores of books, and the strange phenomenon of students of literature unable to write novels is beginning to change.

These profound changes and delightful achievements are the resul brought about by struggle and grasping class struggle. If there were not the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution to uproot the deep-seated domination of the revisionist line in education, the movement for

criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius to sweep away the garbage of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and the repeated powerful counter-attacks against the trend of thought for capitalist restoration and the Right-deviation wind to reverse past verdicts, these changes and achievements could never have been obtained.

At present, a gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse past verdicts has appeared on the educational front. They negate the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolution in education, clamor for "switching" the school back to the revisionist line in education before the great cultural revolution, and want to use the bait of "intellectual culture above all else" to entice the young students in order to bring them up as spiritual aristocrats of the bourgeoisie. This is capitalist restoration and a major regression in history which we can never accede to.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." After reading Chairman Mao's brilliant poem, we deeply realize that revisionism is still the main danger today. We must in the manner of the roc soaring 90,000 li be a fighter not afraid of waging tenacious struggle against the revisionist line in education. We must take class struggle as the key link, always bear in mind the basic line of the Party, raise still higher the revolutionary banner of combating and guarding against revisionism and carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. We must take practical action to consolidate and develop the gains of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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Look You, the World Is Being Turned Upside Down

by

the 6th Company of a certain unit under the
Peking Garrison Command

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, January 5, 1976)

When 1976 arrives, we read with militant pride the two poems written by the great leader Chairman Mao and are most profoundly educated and tremendously encouraged.

Chairman Mao wrote this poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" in the middle of the sixties, an era in which Marxism won great victories in the open polemic and violent clash with modern revisionism. It was an era of flourishing development of mighty struggles by the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism and revisionism. With the great vigor of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao praised the excellent situation of the contemporary world with "gunfire licking the heavens and shells pitting the earth," and profoundly exposed the sinister features of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique for their shameless betrayal of Marxism and world revolution. They peddled phoney "goulash" communism, the "three nothing world" and the "parliamentary road" in an attempt to hoodwink the people of the world and to strangulate the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. However, the revolutionary people of the world and the genuine Marxists refused to bite the bait, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them and ignited the raging fire of liberation and armed struggle everywhere. The armed struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people against imperialism and colonialism left the imperialists and colonialists in a bad shape. A new situation of great upheaval, great split and great re-shuffle appeared throughout the world. Under this situation, the great leader Chairman Mao wrote this impressive poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao," and by means of the words, "Look you, the world is being turned upside down," proclaimed with a magnificent spirit the bankruptcy of revisionism.

Ten years have gone by. How happy it is to see today the world-shaking changes that have indeed taken place in the world. The prominent hallmark of this change is the vigorous rise and daily strengthening of the Third World which plays the role of the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become the irresistible trend of historical development. As a result of their fierce contention, frenzied armament race and war preparations, the two superpowers of the Soviet Union and the United States have found the going tougher and tougher with each passing day. In particular, with its true look more glaringly exposed, Soviet social-imperialism is daily more isolated.

The most fundamental reason for such profound changes taking place in the world is that the people of the world firmly stand for revolution and armed struggle. In this poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" Chairman Mao has most figuratively revealed this very serious question:

How to deal with violent revolution and armed struggle is the watershed between Marxism from revisionism. The Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique is like the sparrow in the bush, which vilifies and reviles the excellent situation of the revolution, and sabotages and suppresses the revolutionary struggle of the people. Moreover, only Marxists could understand the history of the development of human society and grasp the objective law of class struggle, and like the high-flying roc, could soar through space without interference.

In the poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue," Chairman Mao profoundly exposes the repulsive features of the revisionists. In the autumn of 1963, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique, in collusion with imperialism, actively perpetrated a "peace" hoax. They drew up the nefarious Tripartite "Partial Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty" in an attempt to cover up their armament race and war preparations as well as their sinister conspiracy to partition the world. Actually, the treaty they signed is nothing but a useless piece of paper. For the past ten years and more, they have conducted over a hundred nuclear tests. The facts show that the talk of "detente" by the Soviet revisionists is a lie and their true aim is expansion, and that their talk of "disarmament" is a lie and they truly go after armaments expansion. They display the signboard of socialism, carry out aggression and expansion everywhere and have become simon-pure social-imperialism. They call themselves the "natural ally" of the Third World, but they are actually the "super-emperors" riding on the back of the people of the Third World. All they have done has thoroughly exposed the repulsive features of the renegades to the proletarian revolution and the new tsars.

At present, the situation of the world is characterized by great disorder. The factors of revolution and war are obviously on the increase, and the danger of a world war comes from the two superpowers of the Soviet Union and the United States, and particularly from Soviet social-imperialism, which has been most active at toying with the hoax of "detente." Chairman Mao points out, "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared." As fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we must firmly bear in mind this great teaching of Chairman Mao's, heighten our vigilance and be prepared against war. Should the enemy dare to launch a war of aggression against China, we shall together with the people throughout the country, resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe them out. Let the "sparrow-in-the-bush" type of revisionists tremble, for Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought will certainly be victorious.

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We Can Grasp the Moon in the Ninth Heaven and Seize Turtles Deep Down in the Five Seas

- a study of two poems by Chairman Mao

by

the "study of Chairman Mao's poems" group of a certain unit of the PLA Navy

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, Jan. 5, 1976)

Just as we are marching full of revolutionary heroism on the new journey into 1976, two poems, "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko Tou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," written by the great leader Chairman Mao in 1965 have been published. This is an important event in the political life of the Chinese people. It is of important political significance as well as actual significance. The broad masses of commanders and fighters of our navy deeply love these imposing and splendid poems by Chairman Mao. Many comrades get together and--with infinite love for the great leader Chairman Mao and firm confidence in the Chinese and world communist movements--read and discuss these poems with deep feeling. They are inspired by the high-degree revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimistic spirit of these two poems. They realize more fully how wise and profound the statements and predictions made by Chairman Mao ten years ago regarding the situation of the development of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution have been.

When studying "Chingkangshan Revisited," we seem to see that: Ten years ago, when the great proletarian cultural revolution was about to develop vigorously, Chairman Mao, defying difficulties and hardships, revisited Chingkangshan and saw the new scene of growing prosperity in the old revolutionary base. Looking back to the militant course of the past and looking forward to the glorious prospect of the future, we seem to see Chairman Mao strolling firmly up Huangyangchieh, standing on the heights and surveying the sea of clouds. The thunder of guns of the past echoes in his ears and an imposing historical panorama is unfolded before his eyes. His broad chest heaves with the endless, roaring billows of the Four Seas and his keen eyes are fixed on the changing clouds above the Five Continents. A Marxist-Leninist not only must be able to see the beautiful prospects depicted by the verse "On perilous peaks dwells beauty in her infinite variety," but must also have the heroic spirit of daring to scale any perilous peak. The great leader Chairman Mao, with the great, revolutionary courage and spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution and directed millions of revolutionary people to destroy the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, thereby effecting a tremendous transformation in our country and making the dictatorship of the proletariat more consolidated.

With the great proletarian cultural revolution developing in depth and scoring one victory after another, Chairman Mao again pointed out in time, "The present great cultural revolution is only the first, and in the future there are bound to be others. The question of who will win in the

revolution will only be settled over a very long historical period." Although a mighty victory has already been scored in the great proletarian cultural revolution, yet the struggle is by no means over, and class struggle will be protracted. The struggle to affirm or to negate new socialist things and the struggle to affirm or to negate the gains of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in a word, are a struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, which exists not only today, but will reappear from time to time in the fairly long historical period to come. We must fully understand that we may run into various twists and turns and ups and downs on this new journey, but "Once Huangyangchieh is passed no other perilous place calls for a glance." So long as we always advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, even greater storms are nothing to us. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Countless facts of struggle have already attested and will continue to attest to this brilliant truth. In the whole historical period of socialism, whether in socialist revolution and construction or in the struggle against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, countless perilous peaks are challenging us to scale. The greater the difficulties are, the more resolutely we must advance. The more perilous the peaks are, the more bravely we must scale them. So long as we follow Chairman Mao's teachings and possess the revolutionary heroic spirit of daring to scale any perilous peaks, there is no difficulty we cannot surmount and no enemy we cannot overcome.

In the poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," Chairman Mao--with the peerless revolutionary optimism and revolutionary heroism--stands at the peak of the times and looks down to survey the trends of the world. He sees clearly the changes of the ages, warmly praises the excellent situation--depicted by the verses, "Gunfire licks the heavens, Shells pit the earth"--of the struggles of the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. He points out that the current of the times is irresistible, and proclaims that the proletariat and the revolutionary people will surely win. Just as he formerly directed us to look into the distant rising sun about to break through the morning mist and pointed out that a single spark could start a prairie fire, he leads us to stand on the heights of revolution and set our eyes on the changes of the world. In the manner he formerly repudiated "How long can the red flag continue to fly?" he sternly criticizes modern revisionism. Throughout the sixties, the evil tide of revisionism surged, and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique joined in an anti-China chorus together with imperialism and reactionaries of various countries. It made use of the temporary economic difficulty caused by the three years of natural disasters in China, and working hand in glove with revisionist elements inside China, pounced fiercely on us politically and economically. Its impact was so ferocious as if it would remove the K'unlun Mountains. At that time, Chairman Mao led us to join the revolutionary people of the whole world in raising high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, waging a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism and scoring victories one after another. In those stormy days, Chairman Mao used his brilliant poems to reveal that revisionism is nothing but miasma, ice, a demon and a fly while revolutionaries are the sturdy pines and the plum blossoms that herald the spring. The excellent situation in which the Four Seas are rising and the Five continents are rocking is derived through the arduous struggles of the revolutionary people of the world, and by "rousing a raging cyclone" and fighting against storms.

What a striking contrast is that between the two images, the roc and the sparrow in the bush, as in the poem written by Chairman Mao! Quoting a Russian parable, Lenin equated a Communist with an "eagle" and admonished the revisionists as a flock of "chickens" on a dung heap in the backyard of the workers' movement. In Chairman Mao's poem, the roc wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone. With "the blue sky on his back, he looks down." This is an ode to the flames of revolution and a song praising the people for transforming the old world in chaos. Whereas, the revisionist renegades, frightened out of their wits by the heaven-licking gunfire of the people's revolution, step up their collusion with imperialism in an attempt to extinguish the flame of people's revolution, to divide the world and seek world hegemony. Like all reactionaries, they simultaneously adopt the tactics of violent suppression and priestly enticement. They attempt to force the oppressed people to tolerate their exploitation and enslavement forever and give up resistance and revolution. In utmost indignation, Chairman Mao scolds them, "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down." The poem has outlined the features of renegades like Khrushchev and exposed the heinous crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in turning against Marxism-Leninism and betraying the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

Ten years have elapsed. The revolutionary situation had developed just as Chairman Mao has wisely predicted. The Third World has become the main force in the struggle against hegemonism, and an excellent situation is prevailing. The vicious features of Soviet social-imperialism has become exposed more and more. The more the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are clamoring for disarmament, the more they are stepping up arms expansion. The more they call for detente, the more fiercerly they will contend. In particular, social-imperialism that has been the most active in clamoring for "detente" is the most overbearing and has become the main source of a world war at present. Factors for war and revolution are growing. In his poems, Chairman Mao has revealed that changes in the world are normal and are governed by a law! Studying Chairman Mao's brilliant poems has further strengthened our confidence in the inevitable destruction of capitalism, the inevitable victory of socialism and the sure materialization of communism.

"We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." After studying Chairman Mao's poems, the fighters of our People's Liberation Army recognize their own responsibility more fully. For the sake of defending the motherland, defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarding against the aggression of imperialism, in particular, the aggression of social-imperialism, we must constantly heighten our vigilance and prepare for battle! In the Spring Festival twenty-two years ago, the great leader Chairman Mao boarded our gunboat on a long voyage and wrote this great inscription for us: "We must build a powerful navy to oppose imperialist aggression!" Seeing the activities of the superpowers contending for maritime supremacy at present, we feel more deeply the wisdom and profundity of Chairman Mao's instruction. The publication of these two poems by Chairman Mao is a bugle call spurring us on in our advance. We must follow Chairman Mao's consistent instructions and struggle energetically to build a strong and powerful navy and consolidate our national defense!

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"Where, May I Ask?"

- on reading "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," a poem by Chairman Mao

by

Tai Hou-ying (戴厚英)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, January 5, 1976)

In this poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," Chairman Mao has molded two entirely contrasting artistic images: The roc and the sparrow in the bush. These two images symbolize two different classes and two opposite lines. The "dialogue" between them is an artistic embodiment of the violent struggle between the two classes and the two lines.

The roc is the symbol of the revolutionary people. "The rock wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone." What a heroic image. What a majestic picture! This precisely is a Marxist's basic cognition of our era as well as the world today in the eyes of millions of revolutionary people. The storm of revolution rises high into the sky enveloping the whole world and bringing tremendous changes to towns and cities in man's world. "Gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth." The thunder of the guns of the revolution has tolled the knell of imperialism and the pitted earth is the grave prepared for its burial. How invigorating and inspiring are such transformations and prospects!

Since there is the storm of revolution whipped up by the people of the world, there is also bound to be bloody rain made by imperialism, revisionism and reaction. However, the frenzied counter-attack and suppression of imperialism, revisionism and reaction are nothing but signs of their death-bed struggle and are not fearful. In contrast, the violent storm only increases the militant heroism of the revolutionary people and makes their eyes brighter and their fighting spirit stronger.

However, the sight of this original picture of struggle will give the revisionists a different impression. Please take a look at the evil performance of the sparrow. It regards the revolution a disaster and is frightened to death. It considers this world actually uninhabitable. The poem here uses the words "flit and fly" to vividly sketch their apprehension about the revolutionary storm and their anxiety to hide from this torm. "Flit and fly" means running away quickly.

All revisionists are capitulationists, and they all dream of the "jewelled palace in elfland's hills" as the sparrow does. "Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon two years ago? There'll be plenty to eat, potatoes piping hot with beef thrown in." These simple lines have sketched the dirty inner world of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. In autumn 1963, a "triple pact" was signed in Moscow. This pact called for such things as the banning of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in the outer space and under water, etc. They tried all they could to convince the people that the world would be in peace ever after and they could live in comfort and feed themselves on goulash. Why do the people of the Third World

still want struggle and take up arms? Perhaps, to seek subsistence under the protection of the pact between imperialism and social-imperialism! However, Marxists and the revolutionary people hold that the "triple pact" was a complete hoax. After signing the "triple pact" in 1963, they also signed some similar treaties. However, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are still building up their armaments, developing nuclear weapons and contending fiercely. They have acted in such a way that there can be no peace anywhere on earth. Where can there be a so-called "jewelled palace in elfland's hills?"

Chairman Mao pointed out, "Existence of bourgeois influence is the source of revisionism within the country. Submission to imperialist pressure is the source of revisionism outside the country." So long as the bourgeoisie and its influence exist inside the country and the imperialist pressure exists outside the country, there will be soil giving rise to revisionism and capitulationism. Moreover, they will keep changing their color and tune in accordance with the development of the revolutionary situation. We can still remember that between 1959 and 1962, the reactionary forces within and outside the country, taking advantage of the three years of natural disasters in our country, whipped up an anti-China chorus. They acted with such a momentum and vigor as if they would not roll back the whole of the K'unlun Mountains. For a time, the situation of "Winter clouds snow-laden, cotton fluffs flying, none or few the unfallen flowers" took shape. At that time how wanton were the revisionists represented by Liu Shao-ch'i! They openly propagated capitulationism. They wanted the Chinese people to beg for mercy from imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and advocated "three reconciliations and one reduction." Liu Shao-ch'i shamelessly said, "We do not even have the time to look after ourselves. How can we antagonize US imperialism and Soviet revisionism and support the revolution of other peoples?" Lin Piao also clamored, "Those who struggle against one another are enemies and those who live in harmony are friends." At that time, the great leader Chairman Mao led our Party in a mighty struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The Chinese people stood against the cold current of revisionism. At the same time, an excellent situation in which "the Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; the Five Continents are rocking, winds and thunder roaring" appeared in world revolution.

Ten years have elapsed since Chairman Mao wrote this poem. During this period, a very profound transformation has taken place in the world. "A new historical era of struggle against US imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." The revolutionary storm of the Third World has increasingly manifested its tremendous power, and its force is irresistible. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have fallen into a sad plight both internally and externally, and their days are becoming more and more difficult. Because of this, imperialism and social-imperialism will use their counter-revolutionary double-dealings more craftily and alternately. On the one hand, they are more fiercely contending, invading and expanding everywhere; on the other hand, they loudly clamor for "detente." As for the revolutionary struggles of the world, they on the one hand carry out open intervention and subversion and, on the other hand, put on kid gloves and attempt "appeasement." Where there are imperialist pressure and inducement, there is bound to be sparrows willing to accept "appeasement." Lin Piao was one of them. A few years back, didn't he "flit and fly away" to Soviet revisionism? As a result, he crashed and was

smashed into smithereens. Protracted is the struggle between Marxiam and revisionism. The publication of Chairman Mao's "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" will help us go on recognizing the revisionist conspiracies and schemes, keep our heads sober and carry out a tit-for-tat struggle.

O mighty roc, continue to spread your wings, fly high and greet the violent revolutionary storm. If the sparrow still wants to "flit and fly" let it have its way! "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down" -- this is our best reply to all revisionists.

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Features of Renegades

by

Tung Fang (董方)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, January 6, 1976)

Issued on New Year's Day this year and written by Chairman Mao in autumn 1965, "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" is a poem resplendent with Marxist-Leninist ideology. In this poem, Chairman Mao, in his great proletarian revolutionary broad-mindedness, takes a far-sighted and extensive look at the drastic changes in the world and points out that the world is in an exceedingly excellent situation. He also acutely reveals the sinister features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and further indicates the bearings of struggle for the proletariat and the revolutionary people.

The fifties and the early sixties were precisely a time when "gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth" and winds and thunders were stirring in every corner of the world. The national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America were making progress. Whether in the delta area of the Mekong River, or in the dense forest of dark Africa, or on the islands in the Caribbean Sea, or in the Aures Mountains area in North Africa, the fires of armed struggle were burning. People of various nationalities in the Orient all stood up on their own feet. They feared no sacrifice, advanced wave upon wave, waged heroic struggles and were rapidly racing on the road to national liberation. What an exciting scene this was! Marxists and all revolutionary people could not but leaped with joy at this scene.

However, in the face of this excellent revolutionary situation, the imperialists and reactionaries were scared. The renegades to the proletariat and all opportunists were seized with panic. "This is one hell of a mess! O I want to flit and fly away." In order to fly to the so-called "jewelled palace in elfland's hills," that is, to satisfy the greed and avarice and extremely selfish interests of a handful of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique used all means and went all out to vilify, sabotage and even suppress revolutions. Just as Lenin pointed out when revealing the renegade Kautsky's fear, jeer and betrayal of the revolution: "In fact, there is not the slightest difference between Kautsky and the counter-revolutionaries. There is not even a trace of difference." The only difference was that this renegade "used 'socialism' as the signboard" and was capable of "cajolery." From Khrushchev to Brezhnev, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was exactly such a company of downright "counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" who donned the cloak of "socialism," put up the signboard of "Leninism" and profusely talked cajoleries like "natural ally" and "big community."

As a result of the revelation and struggle by Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of all countries, the notorious Khrushchev finally had to step down. By now, Brezhnev has come to power for eleven years. These

eleven years have been a time when the big renegade Brezhnev's ferocious features of betraying and frenziedly stifling the world revolution were revealed. These also have been eleven years in which the Brezhnev renegade clique committed countless crimes against the people's reovlution and national liberation movements in various countries. Let's have a look at their shameful historical records.

In 1965, Soviet revisionism further betrayed the Vietnamese revolution after the United States had made the false accusation in August 1964 that "the North Vietnamese torpedo-boat attacked the US warships" in the "Bac Bu Bay Incident." Soviet revisionism even sent large groups of armed troops, policemen and cavalrymen to disperse the great demonstrations held in the Soviet Union by the foreign students from Asian, African, and Latin American countries in protest against the US aggression of Vietnam.

In 1966, Soviet revisionism continued to betray the Vietnamese people. It kept pace many times with the US imperialist sinister activities of "bombing in order to force surrender" and "stopping bombing in order to induce surrender," in a vain attempt to extinguish the intense fire of the national liberation war in Vietnam.

In 1967, the Brezhnev clique turned on the green light to Israeli Zionism so that the Arabian countries suffered tremendous losses from the sudden attack of their enemy. Afterward, it forced the Arabian countries to stop their wars against aggression. Taking advantage of the danger other people were in, Soviet revisionism hoisted the flag of "aid" to control the Arabian countries and contended with US imperialism for hegemony in the Middle East.

In 1968, in order to maintain its colonial sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, Soviet revisionism sent tanks and troops into Prague overnight and exercised armed occupation in Czechoslovakia.

In 1969, Soviet revisionism atrociously waged armed invasions in succession into China's Chenpao Island and single-handedly perpetrated the serious bloodshed at the Sino-Soviet border.

In 1970, the United States instigated the Lon Nol traitorous clique to wage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and sent troops into Cambodia. Soviet revisionism collaborated with the Lon Nol traitorous clique and refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. It even viciously disparaged the just struggle of the Cambodian people as "fratricide," in a sinister attempt to disintegrate the Cambodian national united front and sabotage the Cambodian people's struggle for liberation.

In the same year, Soviet revisionism encouraged and supported the bloody suppression on the Polish workers' movement.

In 1971, Soviet revisionism instigated and supported an Asian country to wage a large-scale war of aggression against Pakistan. Afterward, it continued to practice hegemonism and power politics with the desire to maintain and intensify the tense situation in South Asia. This seriously threatened the independence and security of the sub-continental countries.

In the same year, Soviet revisionism incited its agents to launch a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in the Sudan, which ended in failure. It also dispatched spies to many countries to carry out subversive and sabotage activities.

In 1973, the Arabian countries and people heroically launched a counter-attack to the Israeli Zionist aggression. The fourth Middle East war broke out. Soviet revisionism held up arms supply and extorted money from the Arabian countries. It carried out the plot of giving sham support but exercising genuine control in dealing with the armed struggle of the Palestinian people in order to bring this struggle into their orbit of its contention with US imperialism for hegemony.

In 1974, an uprising broke out in Cyprus. Soviet revisionism made use of the incident to have a finger in the pie and to fish in troubled waters. It gave support to one side today and to the other side tomorrow. It drove a wedge between the two sides and fanned up disturbance. It profusely talked about "friendship" but in fact sabotaged the talks between the two nationalities in Cyprus so as to achieve its sinister ends of expanding its sphere of influence in the Mediterranean and contend with US imperialism for hegemony.

In 1975, in order to contend for world hegemony with another superpower, Soviet revisionism deployed strategic strongholds and laid its black hand on Angola in southern Africa. It made use of the disagreement between the three liberation organizations in Angola to drive a wedge between them. It single-handedly perpetrated and stepped up the civil war in Angola and used this war to disintegrate the African unity. Soviet revisionism supplied a good deal of ammunitions and sent military personnel to one of the organizations. Its naval vessels even launched rockets at the armed forces of another liberation organization. Soviet revisionism is the biggest saboteur of the national independence and unity in Angola and the hangman butchering the Angolan people.

The evil things done by the Brezhnev renegade clique against the people's revolutionary struggles of various countries in the past eleven years were much more serious than those done by his predecessor Khrushchev. For example, it directly sent armed forces to occupy an "allied country," overtly supported the forced dismemberment of a sovereign state, and even sent military personnel and supplied a good deal of arms to far-away places to incite civil war in another country and contend with the United States for strategic footholds, and so forth. These were the things Khrushchev dreamed of doing but had not the guts to do. Compared with Khrushchev, the Brezhnev renegade clique is even more fierce and frantic!

A big country like the Soviet Union, in exercising an all-round restoration of capitalism, is bound to change itself into social-imperialism and step onto the old Russian road to aggression and expansion. This is an invariable law of history. In the past eleven years, with its transformation into social-imperialism, the Soviet Union is contending with US imperialism for world hegemony more and more acutely. During the Khrushchev period, the military strength of Soviet revisionism was inferior to that of the United States. It only proposed "a world under the joint dominance of the Soviet Union and the United States." It was in every way succumbed to the US-

imperialist pressure. It went so far as to be obsequious to and bow to US imperialism, and served as its accomplice and servant to suppress the people's revolution. However, when its nuclear wings had grown fully and its military strength increased, this latecomer, social imperialism, became so ambitious that it asked for a redivision of the world according to strength. Soviet revisionism today has gone from fearing and betraying the revolution to openly suppressing the revolution. It has changed from a renegade of revolution and an accomplice and servant of imperialism to a hangman directly butchering and suppressing the revolutionary people.

In essence, a renegade and a hangman are identical. The Russian reovlutionary writer Gorki said that the renegades were even worse than the "lice of typhoid fever"; Lu Hsün bitterly denounced the renegades as "men speaking in the voice of animals" and said that their "unscrupulous and mean" acts of betrayal were beyond the play of "animals other than human being." These reveal how despicable the renegades are. Whether in the past or at present, whether in China or other countries, the renegades and capitulationists have always been the hangmen brutally murdering the people. Sung Chiang was exactly like that. As soon as his betrayal was achieved, he was even more brutal than the old hangmen were to the revolutionary people.

Today, the people of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have seen more and more clearly the genuine features of Soviet social-imperialism. The so-called "natural allies," the so-called "support" and "aid" to the national liberation movements have all been lies. Public opinions of the Third World have pointed out that the actual moves of the Soviet revisionist new Tsar have exposed his "sly features of trying to control other nations with various abominable measures" and have exposed his "natural color of an imperialist country determined to establish a new colonial political power in free Africa." A journal in Cyprus recently carried a cartoon portraying the two superpowers as two large greedy sharks racing in the waters surrounding Cyprus and stirring up waves in a vain attempt to devour this pretty island in the Mediterranean. This is the ugly features of Soviet social-imperialism.

However, no matter how fierce Soviet social imperialism is, no matter what form it may disguise itself into and what plots and conspiracies it is up to, it can never stem the historical torrent that countries call for independence, nations call for liberation and people call for revolution. The people of Indo-China persevered in their wars of national liberation and finally gained brilliant victories. Nearly forty countries in Africa have also gained their independence one after another. The Third World which has more than 70 percent of the world population prospers quickly and is continuing to strengthen. It has already become the main force in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and the great motive force pushing world history forward. The countries and the people of the Third World are strengthening their solidarity and, in a brand-new attitude, have plunged into the great struggle that will determine the future of the world.

"A thousand sails glide past the sunken boat; thousands of saplings spring beyond a sickly tree." The storm of revolution is gaining the momentum of an avalanche and violently pounding on the old world. The people of various countries are marching forward amidst the great upheavals. "Look you, the world is being turned upside down." Proletarian and revolutionary people of the whole world will finally push over the table in the man-eating feast of hegemonism. They will thoroughly destroy the so-called "jewelled palace in elfland's hills" of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Soviet social imperialism will never be able to evade its fate of destruction!

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